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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER,

Prefixed to the FRENCH Edition.

THE *Heads of Self-examination for a King*, which we here preſent to the publick, is a genuine piece of the late M. de Fenelon, Archbiſhop of Cambray, that was actually printed in Holland, and deſigned to have been added to the beautiful edition of his Telemachus; together with his Life, and a complete Catalogue of his works, drawn up by very good hands. But theſe pieces being then ſuppreſſed by an order from the miniſtry of France, and fortunately falling

175168

into the hands of the Bookſeller, he judged it would be doing an injury to the publick, if he any longer kept from them ſuch curious productions, more eſpecially as they in ſome degree complete the works of the illuſtrious Author.

The original, printed in Holland, is in the Bookſeller's hands, ready to be produced in proof of what he has here advanced, in caſe any perſon ſhall be deſirous of enquiring farther into the truth of it.

PRO-

PROPER HEADS OF SELF-EXAMINATION FOR A KING.

SIR,

NO one more earneſtly deſires, that you may live many years removed from the dangers inſeparably attendant upon the exerciſe of the government than myſelf. I am led to deſire it, through a zealous regard for the preſervation of his Majeſty's ſacred perſon, ſo neceſſary to his kingdom, and for the ſafety of the Dauphin. I wiſh it for the good of the publick in general, and for your own ſake in particular; as the greateſt

175168

have not you been too apt to yield to the ſuggeſtion?

III.

Have you not ſought out for counſellors of all ſorts, who have been moſt diſpoſed to flatter you in your notions of ambition, vanity, pride, wantonneſs, and artifice? And have you not with difficulty given ear to men of courage and diſintereſtedneſs, who deſiring no favours from you, nor dazzled with your greatneſs, would, with all due reſpect, have laid before you the truths it became you to know, and oppoſed your will in order to prevent your doing amiſs?

IV.

Have you not, in the moſt ſecret foldings of your heart, rejoiced at not ſeeing the good you had no deſire to do, as it would have been too great a ſelf-denial to have purſued it; and have you not ſought for reaſons to excuſe the ill, to which your inclination has carried you?

V. Have

V.

Have you neglected to aſk of God in prayer, that he would enlighten your underſtanding? Have you deſired of him in your prayers, the grace of profiting by what you have read? If you have neglected to pray to him, you have brought upon yourſelf the guilt of all the ignorances, wherein you have lived, and which the ſpirit of prayer would have removed far from you. It is of little conſequence to read eternal truths, if we pray not to obtain the gift of underſtanding them aright. If you have not prayed as you ought, you have deſerved to be left by God in darkneſs, and to have the proper means of correcting your faults, and fulfilling of your duty, hid from you. Thus negligence, wearineſs, and wilful diſtraction in prayer, which are uſually conſidered as the ſlighteſt of all faults, are, notwithſtanding, the real ſource of that fatal blindneſs, wherein the moſt part of Princes live.

PROPER HEADS

OF

SELF-EXAMINATION

FOR A

K I N G.

Drawn up for the Uſe of the late DAUPHIN of *France*, Father to his preſent Majeſty King *Lewis* XV. whilſt Duke of *Burgundy*.

By M. DE FENELON,

Archbiſhop and Duke of CAMBRAY.

Together with the

AUTHOR's LIFE,

A complete Catalogue of his WORKS.

AND

MEMOIRS of his FAMILY.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER in *Eſſex-ſtreet*, 1747

misfortune that could poſſibly befal you, would be to become the maſter of others, at an age, when you are as yet ſo little maſter of yourſelf: it is requiſite, however, to prepare you beforehand againſt the dangers of a condition, from which I pray God to keep you till you are far advanced in years. And the beſt method of making a prince that fears God, and is well affected towards religion, acquainted with this condition, is to lay before him proper heads of Self-examination upon the duties of kingly government; and this is what I am now about to attempt.

I.

Inſtruction. Are you thoroughly acquainted with all the truths of the Chriſtian religion? You will be judged according to the Goſpel, in like manner as the leaſt of your ſubjects. Do you ſtudy to learn your duty out of that divine law? Would you ſuffer a magiſtrate to judge the people daily in your name, without knowing your laws

laws and ordinances, which were to be the rule of his judgment? And do you expect, that God will overlook your ignorance in his law, according to which he requires you to live, and to govern his people? Do you read the Gospel, not through curiosity, but with an humble and tractable spirit, ready to practice what you read, and disposed to condemn yourself in all those things which that law shall reprove in you?

II.

Have you not given way to an imagination, that the Gospel was not to be a like rule for Kings, as for their subjects; that their political capacity exempted them from being humble, just, sincere, mild, compassionate, and willing to forgive injuries? Has no loose, corrupted, flatterer, suggested to you, that kings ought to conduct themselves towards their subjects by certain maxims of haughtiness, cruelty, and dissimulation, rising above the common rules of justice and humanity; and

VI.

Have you chosen for the directors of your conscience, men of the greatest piety, courage, and understanding; as the best Generals are chosen to command over armies in war, or the ablest Physicians in case of sickness? Have you herein consulted with several persons, that the judgment of one might keep you from being influenced by the prejudices of another; as the most able and upright person in the world is always liable to be prejudiced? Have you dreaded the inconveniencies of giveing up yourself entirely to the dictates of a single man? Or, have you allowed the several persons you have consulted with, the absolute liberty of laying before you, without reserve, whatever you are in conscience obliged to perform?

VII.

Have you taken pains to instruct yourself in the laws, customs, and u-

sages

ſages of your kingdom? The King is the chief judge in his dominions: It is he who makes the laws; and it is he who interprets them, when occaſion requires it; it is he who frequently paſſeth judgment in his council, according to the laws which himſelf has made, or which were eſtabliſhed before his acceſſion to the throne: it is he who is to correct all the other Judges: In a word, it is his office to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of juſtice during peace, as it is his to preſide at the head of an army in a time of war. And as war ought never to be engaged in but with regret, nor carried on farther than can poſſibly be avoided, and always with a view to peace; it follows, that the office of commanding over armies is but a tranſitory office, undertaken by conſtraint, and diſagreeable to good kings; whereas that of judging the people, and keeping a watchful eye over all the judges, is their natural, eſſential, ordinary function, and inſeparable from royalty. To judge well, is

to

to judge according to the laws: But in order to judge according to the laws, it is requiſite to know them. Do you know them, and are you able to ſet right the judges, who are ignorant of them? Are you well enough ſkilled in the principles of law, to comprehend eaſily what is right, when a matter is brought before you? Are you able to diſtinguiſh amongſt your counſellors, thoſe who flatter you, from thoſe who do not; thoſe who religiouſly keep up to rules, from thoſe who would wreſt them in an arbitrary manner to their own views? Do not ſay, that you are guided by a plurality of voices; for beſides that there are caſes, wherein your council will be divided, and the deciſion muſt abſolutely depend upon your own opinion, you are not there like the preſident of a ſociety, but are withal the ſole real judge. Your counſellors or miniſters of ſtate are perſons merely to adviſe with; it is you alone, who in reality decide. The voice of a ſingle man of probity and underſtanding, ought

frequently

frequently to be preferred to the ſentiments of ten judges, who are weak and cowardly, or obſtinate and corrupt. The matter advanced ought rather here to be well weigh'd, than the number of voices regarded.

VIII.

Have you ſtudied the true form of government eſtabliſhed in your kingdom? It is not enough to know the laws, which ſecure and ſettle the property of your ſubjects; that is, doubtleſs, the leaſt part of juſtice: But you muſt alſo be acquainted with the duties required of you, in caſes depending between your nation and yourſelf, between you and your neighbours. Have you ſeriouſly ſtudied what is call'd the law of nations; a law, which a king is the leſs allow'd to be unacquainted with, as it is to be the rule of his conduct upon the moſt important occaſions, and is reducible to the moſt evident principles of the law of nature, which was inſtituted for all mankind? Have you

you ſtudied the fundamental laws, and the conſtant cuſtoms which have the force of law, by which your own nation in particular is governed? Have you, without partiality, enquired into the bounds of your own authority? Do you know the ſeveral forms, by which the kingdom was governed under the kings of different races? what the ancient parliaments were; and what the ſtates-general, who ſucceeded them? what was the ſubordination of feuds? how things have paſſed into their preſent ſtate? and upon what this change has been found? Know you, what anarchy is, what arbitrary power, and what the regal authority eſtabliſhed by the laws, the medium that lies between the two extremes? Would you allow a judge to ſit in judgment without knowledge of the law; or a general of an army to command, without ſkill in the art of war? And do you think that God will allow that you ſhould reign, without being inſtructed in the proper bounds and exerciſe of your power? You muſt

not

not therefore look upon the ſtudy of hiſtory, morality, and the ſeveral particulars belonging to the ancient form of government, as a matter of mere curioſity and indifference, but as an eſſential duty of the crown.

IX.

It is not enough to know what is paſt, you muſt alſo be acquainted with the preſent. Do you know the number of perſons, whereof your nation conſiſts? how many men? how many women? how many are employed in tillage? how many are handicraftſmen? how many of other profeſſions? how many are concerned in trade? how many are prieſts and religious perſons? how many nobles and gentlemen? and how many ſoldiers? What would be ſaid of the ſhepherd, who did not know the number of his flock? It is as eaſy for a king to know the number of his people; it may be done with a word's ſpeaking. It becomes him to know, whether there are a ſufficient number to

to till the ground; whether there are too many handicraftſmen in proportion; too many of other profeſſions; too great a number of troops for the ſtate to ſupport. He ſhould know the temper and diſpoſition of the inhabitants of different provinces, their principal cuſtoms, their privileges and freedoms, their commerce, and the laws of their reſpective trade, both within and without the kingdom. He ſhould know the nature of the ſeveral courts of juſtice in every province; what are the privileges annexed to particular employments; what the abuſes of thoſe employments, *&c.* otherwiſe, he can never be able to know the real value of what is continually paſſing before his eyes; his miniſters will eaſily impoſe upon him every moment? and at the ſame time that he thinks nothing eſcapes his view, he will ſee every thing but by halves. A king who is ignorant in all theſe particulars, is but a king by halves; his ignorance renders him incapable of reforming what is a-

miſs,

miſs, and does more miſchief than the corruption of the perſons who govern under him.

X.

It is uſually ſaid of kings, that their private vices are leſs to be dreaded, than their miſconduct in the diſcharge of their rōyal authority. For my part, I boldly aſſert the contrary, and maintain, that whatever faults they commit, of the moſt private nature, are of infinite conſequence to the kingdom. Examine, therefore, your morals very minutely. Subjects are ſervile followers of their princes, eſpecially in ſuch points, as gratify their own paſſions. Have they ſeen in you the bad example of a looſe and criminal amour? If ſo, yourauthority has fixed a mark of honour upon infamy; you have broke down the pale of chaſtity and modeſty; you have made vice and impudence to triumph, and taught your ſubjects no longer to bluſh at ſhame; a fatal leſſon, which they

Of Example.

they will never ceaſe to remember. *Whoſo offendeth one of theſe little ones,* ſaith *Jeſus Chriſt, it were better for him, that a milſtone were hanged about his neck, and that he were caſt into the depth of the ſea.* How great then is the ſcandal given by a King, who expoſeth vice as ſeated by him on the throne; not only to be gazed on by his own ſubjects, but withal by all the courts and all the nations of the known world? Vice is in itſelf a contagious poiſon. Mankind are always diſpoſed to receive the infection, and by their inclinations prone to ſhake off the yoke of all modeſty. A ſmall ſpark kindles a great flame. What a King does, ſhall oft occaſion a multiplication and ſucceſſion of crimes, which ſhall extend to divers nations and ſeveral ages. Are theſe mortal examples none of them chargeable upon you? Perhaps you imagine that your irregularities have not been taken notice of. No, the ill that princes do is never kept ſecret; what good they do, may poſſibly remain

main concealed; for people are hardly brought to believe, that they act upon any good motive; but for evil, imagination ſhall ſuggeſt it of them, and it ſhall gain credit upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions. The publick are extremely curious; and whilſt the prince pleaſeth himſelf with thinking that his weakneſſes are not known, he is the only perſon that does not know how ſeverely they are cenſured. In him, every ambiguous word is liable to a bad conſtruction; every appearance of gallantry, every paſſionate air, or over-earneſt look, ſhall give ſcandal, and have a tendency to corrupt the manners of a whole nation.

XI.

Have you not countenanced an immodeſt freedom in the women? Do you admit none into your court, but ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary? none, but ſuch as are about the Queen, or the Princeſſes of your houſe? Do you chuſe for ſuch places women of an advanced

vanced age and approved virtue? Do you exclude from ſuch places the young women, whoſe beauty may be a ſnare to your courtiers? It were better by far, that ſuch perſons ſhould live privately in their own families, at a diſtance from the court. Do you admit no ladies to reſide in your court, as attendants upon the Princeſſes, but ſuch as are neceſſary to wait upon them? Have you taken care, that the Princeſſes themſelves be modeſt, reſerved, and regular in their conduct? In leſſening the number of the women, and makeing the beſt choice you have been able, have you particularly been careful to remove ſuch as are fond of dangerous liberties, and to prevent the looſer ſort of your courtiers from ſeeing them in private, at ſuch hours as the whole court do not appear in publick? Theſe cautions, at this time of day, ſeem all of them too ſcrupulous and extravagantly ſevere. But if we go back to the times which preceded the reign of Francis I. we ſhall find, that before the

ſcan-

ſcandalous licence introduced by that Prince, ladies of the firſt rank, and eſpecially ſuch as were young and handſome, did not come to court; at leaſt, they appeared there very ſeldom, and only to pay their duty to the Queen; and then, it was their honour to reſide in the country in their own families. The great number of women that now frequent the court, is a monſtrous abuſe, to which the nation has been accuſtomed. Have not you countenanced this pernicious cuſtom? Have you not brought to your court, or kept there in a diſtinguiſhed manner, ſome female of a ſuſpected character, or one who has actually, in the former part of her life, been guilty of miſconduct? The court is by no means a proper place for ſuch ungodly perſons to do penance in; let them withdraw into places of retirement, if they are at their own liberty; or if they have husbands ſtill living, and are obliged to be abroad in the world, let them repent in their own houſes. But do you remove from your court whatever

ever has not been regular, as you have all the ladies of uality in your kingdom to chuſe out of, wherewithal to ſupply their places.

XII.

Have you been careful to reſtrain luxury, and put a ſtop to the ruinous inconſtancy of faſhions? It is this which corrupts the greateſt part of the women; they put themſelves to more expence by coming to court, than they are able to ſupport without a crime; luxury increaſes in them the deſire of pleaſing, and their paſſion to pleaſe is principally employed in laying ſnares for the King. A Prince muſt be inſenſible and invulnerable, to reſiſt all the allurements of the pernicious women he has about him; it is a temptation conſtantly at hand, to which he is perpetually expoſed. Have not you permitted perſons of great vanity and prodigality to invent new faſhions, which have increaſed the general expences? Have not you yourſelf contributed to the

the growth of this evil, by the exceſs of your magnificence? Though you be a King, you ſhould avoid whatever is very coſtly, and which others would have as well as you. It is uſeleſs to alledge, that none of your ſubjects ought to allow himſelf a garb, which is ſuitable only to your rank. The Princes, who are nearly allied to you, will dreſs themſelves very much in the ſame manner with yourſelf; the Lords will ſtrive to emulate the Princes; the Gentry will vye with the Lords; the Officers of the revenue will even go beyond them; and the Citizens will tread in the footſteps of theſe Officers, whom they have ſeen to ſpring up from a dunghil. Nobody values himſelf in due proportion, or ſets a juſt eſtimate upon his own condition. Luxury paſſeth from neighbour to neighbour, by imperceptible degrees, from perſons in the higheſt ſtation to the loweſt of the people. If you put on embroidered apparel, the whole world will ſoon wear it. The only means of putting a ſtop to luxury

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at once, is by giving yourſelf the example, which S. Lewis gave, of great plainneſs. Have you given this neceſſary example in every particular? Not only in your apparel, for that is inſufficient, but alſo in your furniture, your equipage, your tables, and your buildings? Inform yourſelf how the Kings, your predeceſſors, were lodged, and in what manner their apartments were fitted up; inform yourſelf what were their meals, and in what manner they were carried abroad; and you will be aſtoniſhed at the prodigious luxury into which we are fallen. There are at this time more coaches and ſix in Paris, than there were mules an hundred years ago. It was not every one then that had a chamber to himſelf; a ſingle chamber, with ſeveral beds in it, would ſuffice for ſeveral perſons; now no one can do without large apartments, and a ſucceſſion of rooms one within another. Every one muſt have gardens, fountains, ſtatues, parks without limits, and houſes, which ſhall coſt

coſt more to keep in repair than the rent of the lands where they are ſituated. Whence comes all this, but from the example which ſome derive from others. Example alone is capable of reforming the manners of a whole nation. We even ſee that the folly of our faſhions is contagious amongſt all our neighbours. All Europe, jealous as it is of France, cannot avoid ſubmitting ſeriouſly to our laws in the moſt frivolous and pernicious thing that belongs to us. Once more, ſuch is the force of the prince's example, that by his diſcretion he is capable of reſtoring both his own people, and his neighbours to a good underſtanding. And as it is in his power, it is doubtleſs his duty. Have you done it?

XIII.

Have you not ſet a bad example, either by uſing too great freedom in your expreſſions, or by drollery and deriſion, or by a miſbecoming manner

of ſpeaking concerning religion? Courtiers are ſervile imitators, and take a pride in having all the faults of their Prince. Have you rebuked irreligion, ſo as to ſhew your diſapprobation of the leaſt word that had a tendency to introduce it? Have you expreſſed a ſincere indignation againſt impiety? And in ſuch manner, as not to leave the leaſt room to doubt of your ſentiments? Have you never been reſtrained by a falſe ſhame, ſo as to bluſh at the profeſſion of the goſpel: Have you, both by your diſcourſe and actions, ſhewn your faith to be ſincere, and given proof of your zeal for Chriſtianity? Have you made uſe of your authority to ſuppreſs infidelity? Have you declined with abhorrence all obſcene jeſting, all equivocal diſcourſes, with every other badge of libertiniſm?

XIV.

Of Juſtice. Have you taken nothing from any of your ſubjects by mere authority, and in oppoſition to the rules

rules eſtabliſhed? Have you made the reparation a private man would have done, when you have taken away his houſe, or incloſed his field in your park, or ſuppreſſed his office, or ſunk his revenues? Have you thoroughly examined the real neceſſities of the ſtate, to compare them with the inconveniencies of taxes, before you have laid them upon your people? Have you conſulted upon ſuch an important point the men of the beſt underſtanding, moſt zealous for the public good, and moſt capable of laying the truth before you, without flattery or fear? Have you not given the name of neceſſity of ſtate, to what hath ſerved only to gratify your own ambition, ſuch as a war undertaken for the ſake of conqueſt, and to acquire glory? Have you not called your own pretenſions the neceſſity of the ſtate? If you have a perſonal claim to any ſucceſſion in a neighbouring territory, you ought to ſupport that war out of the income of your patrimonial poſſeſſions, your own private purſe, or

perſonal loans; at leaſt you ought only to apply to this uſe the voluntary aids granted by the affection of your people, and not load them with taxes to ſupport a pretenſion wherein they have no concern; for your ſubjects will not be at all the happier, by your adding one province more to your dominions. When Charles VIII. marched to Naples, to recover the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Anjou, he undertook the war at his own perſonal charge; the ſtate did not think themſelves obliged to defray the expences of that enterprize. At moſt you can do no more upon ſuch occaſions than receive the free-will offerings of an affectionate people, preſented in conſideration of the united intereſt of a loyal nation and a King who governs it as a father. In which view you will be far from heaping taxes upon your people, to ſerve your own private intereſt.

XV.

XV.

Have you not tolerated wrongs at the ſame time that you abſtained from doing them? Have you been ſufficiently careful in the choice of the ſeveral perſons whom you have put in authority under you, ſuper-intendants, governors, miniſters, *&c.* Have you choſen none of them through fear of diſobliging the perſons who recommended them, or from a ſecret deſire that they ſhould carry your authority, or augment your revenue, beyond their proper bounds? Have you duly informed yourſelf of their adminiſtration? Have you ſignified that you was ready to hear the complaints that could be made againſt them, and to do juſtice to thoſe who had been injured by them? Have you done it, when at any time you have diſcovered their miſdemeanors? Have you not given to your miniſters, or ſuffered them to take, exceſſive profits, which their ſervices had not deſerved? The rewards which the prince beſtows

upon thoſe who ſerve the ſtate under him, ought always to be limited within certain bounds. It is not fit, that he ſhould raiſe their fortunes above thoſe of perſons of the higheſt rank, or diſproportion them to the preſent wants of the ſtate. Let a miniſter have done ever ſo much ſervice, he ought not at once to attain to an immenſe eſtate, whilſt the people are diſtreſſed, and the Princes and Lords of the firſt quality are neceſſitous. Much leſs is the King permitted to beſtow ſuch fortunes upon his favourites, who uſually do the ſtate ſtill leſs ſervices than his miniſters.

XVI.

Have you appointed reaſonable ſalaries for the ſecretaries of your miniſters, and ſuch other perſons as are employed in ſubaltern offices, ſufficient to afford them a decent ſubſiſtence, without taking any thing for the diſpatch of buſineſs? At the ſame time, have you laid a reſtraint upon the luxury and ambition of

of ſuch ſort of people? if not, you are reſponſible for all the ſecret exactions they have made in their reſpective poſts. On the one hand, they are admitted into theſe places, with an expectation of living in them in a handſome manner, and of ſpeedily raiſing fortunes by them. And on the other hand, their ſalaries ſeldom amount to a third part of what they are obliged to ſpend in the genteel manner they and their families live. They are uſually born to no eſtates; and what would you have them do? You lay them under a kind of neceſſity to get privately whatever they are able for the diſpatch of buſineſs. This is evident; and a man muſt deſignedly ſhut his eyes, that does not diſcern it. You muſt therefore give them more, and at the ſame time prevent them from living in too expenſive a manner.

XVII.

Have you ſought out for means to eaſe your people, and to take nothing

from them but what the real neceſſities of the ſtate have compelled you to take for their own advantage? The ſubſtance of the people ought not to be otherwiſe employed, than for the real benefit of the people themſelves. You have the rents and profits of your crown-lands, which you ſhould receive and manage; they are deſigned for the ſubſiſtence of your houſhold. This domeſtick expence you ought to leſſen, if at any time your royal revenue is overcharged with debts, and your people drained. The ſubſidies granted by the people, ſhould be ſolely employed upon the real uſes of the ſtate. And in a time of publick poverty, you ſhould ſtudy to retrench all offices that are not abſolutely neceſſary. Have you adviſed with the moſt able and beſt diſpoſed perſons, capable of informing you concerning the condition of the provinces, the culture of the lands, the fruitfulneſs of the laſt years, the ſtate of trade, *&c.* to know what the ſtate can pay without ſuffering? And have you there-

upon

upon ſettled the taxes of each reſpective year? Have you given a favourable ear to the remonſtrances of men of probity? Inſtead of diſcountenancing them, have you ſought for them, and anticipated them, as a good Prince ought to do? You know, that formerly the King exacted nothing from the people by his ſole authority; it was the Parliament, or aſſembly of the nation, that granted him the funds neceſſary for the extraordinary demands of the ſtate. Except in this caſe, he lived upon the rents and revenues of his crown-lands. And what has changed this order, but the abſolute authority which Kings have aſſumed? Even in our days, we have ſeen parliaments, which are bodies infinitely inferior to the ancient parliaments or ſtates of the nation, remonſtrate againſt enregiſtering pecuniary edicts. At leaſt, you ought not to publiſh any, till after you had adviſed well with perſons incapable of flattering you, and diſtinguiſhed by a ſincere regard for the publick welfare. Have

you not laid new burdens upon your people, to ſupport your ſuperfluous expences, the luxury of your tables, your equipages and furniture, the embelliſhment of your gardens and palaces, and the exceſſive gifts you have laviſhly beſtowed upon your favourites?

XVIII.

Have you not multiplied offices and employments, in order to draw freſh ſums from their creation? Such creations are no more than taxes in diſguiſe; they all tend to the oppreſſion of the people, and are ſubject to three inconveniences, which ordinarily taxations are not. Firſt, They are perpetual, when not reimburſed; and if at any time a reimburſement is made, what is very deſtructive to your ſubjects, new creations are preſently ſet on foot again. Secondly, Thoſe who purchaſe theſe new-created offices take care to repay themſelves with uſury, as ſoon as poſſible; you give up your people to be fleeced by them: For an hundred thouſand

thouſand livres, for inſtance, which they give you for a creation of offices, you give up your people to five hundred thouſand livres of vexation, which they will ſuffer without remedy. Thirdly, By theſe multiplications of offices you ruin the civil government of the ſtate; you render the adminiſtration of juſtice, by degrees, more venal; you make the reformation of abuſes more and more impracticable; you run the whole nation in debt, for theſe creations become a kind of debts wherein the whole nation is involved; in fine, you reduce all arts and employments to monopolies, which corrupt and ſpoil the whole. Have you no ſuch creations to reproach yourſelf with, whoſe conſequences will be pernicious for ſeveral ages? The wiſeſt and beſt Prince that ever ſat on the throne, during a peaceable reign of fifty years, would not be able to make amends for the miſchiefs which a King may have wrought by this ſort of creations within the ſpace of a ten years war? Have you not been too com-

plying with the courtiers, who under a pretence of ſparing your revenues in the rewards they have aſked of you, have propoſed what they call *Affaires*? Theſe Affairs are always impoſitions upon the people, which diſturb the order of civil government, enervate the execution of juſtice, degrade all arts, diſcourage trade, and lay a burden upon the publick, to ſatisfy, for a little time, the greedineſs of an haughty and prodigal courtier. Send your courtiers into the country to paſs ſome time upon their eſtates and look after their affairs; teach them to live frugally; let them ſee that you value none but ſuch as live regularly, and manage with œconomy; ſhew a contempt for all thoſe who ruin themſelves through their folly; and by this means you will do them more good, without coſting either yourſelf or your people a ſingle penny, than if you laviſhed away upon them all the publick money within your dominions.

XIX.

XIX.

Have you never tolerated your miniſters in taking away the ſubſtance of private perſons for your uſe, without paying the juſt value of it, or at leaſt retarding the payment in ſuch a manner, as to be detrimental to the perſons who have been obliged to ſell, or never been wilfully ignorant that they have done ſo? It is thus, that miniſters take the houſes of private perſons, to encloſe them within the king's palaces, or in their fortifications. It is thus, that they diſpoſſeſs proprietors of their lordſhips, or fiefs, or lands of inheritance, to throw them into parks. It is thus, that they erect eſtabliſhments for the regulation of the game, in which the officers commiſſioned by the Prince ſhall take away the liberty of purſuing the game from the lords in their own lands even to the gates of their caſtles, and commit a thouſand diſturbances in the country. The Prince knows nothing of it, and probably, through wilful

ful ignorance. But it is your duty to be made acquainted with the miſchief that is wrought by your authority. Inform yourſelf of the truth, and ſuffer not your authority to be carried beyond its proper bounds. Give a favourable ear to ſuch as lay before you its juſt extent; chuſe ſuch miniſters as are not afraid to tell you wherein it is carried too far; and remove from you all ſuch as are hard-hearted, haughty, and bold.

XX.

In your agreements with private people, are you as juſt as if you was upon an equal footing with that perſon with whom you treat? Is he free with you, as with one of his neighbours? Does he not rather chuſe to loſe, in order to get out of your hands, and deliver himſelf from vexation, than to maintain his right? The farmers of your revenues, ſtewards, *&c.* do they not behave with an haughtineſs, which yourſelf would decline; and ſtifle the cries of the weak, when diſpoſed to complain?

complain? Do you not frequently pay the man you contract with in rents, in draughts upon your demeſne lands, in offices of novel creation, which one ſtroke of your ſucceſſor's pen is capable of taking from him; becauſe Kings are always minors, and their demeſne lands unalienable. Thus private perſons ſhall give up their certain patrimony, to receive in its ſtead what ſhall afterwards be taken from them, to the inevitable ruin of their families.

XXI.

Have you never, to raiſe their farms, granted edicts, or declarations, or decrees, to the farmers of your revenues, drawn up in ambiguous terms, to enlarge your pretenſions at the expence of trade, and even to lay traps for the traders, to confiſcate their goods, or at leaſt to put them to trouble, and lay them under difficulties in the carrying on of their buſineſs, in order to make them pay for their deliverance out of them. This is doing a great injury to tradeſmen

tradeſmen and the publick, whoſe buſineſs is by this means gradually reduced to nothing.

XXII.

Have you never ſuffered ſoldiers to be enliſted againſt their inclinations? It is true, the people are obliged to defend the ſtate in perſon; but then Princes ſhould engage only in juſt and neceſſary wars; and in every village, choice ſhould be only made of young perſons under no engagement, whoſe preſence might well be ſpared without any injury either to agriculture, or trade, or other neceſſary arts; and who have no families depending upon them; and farther, they ſhould be infallibly diſmiſſed after a few years ſervice, and others ſent to ſupply their places, and ſerve in their turn: Whereas, to pick up what men they pleaſe, againſt their own inclination; to impoveriſh, and frequently ruin, a whole family, by carrying away the head of it; to force the labourer from his cart, and keep him

him ten or fifteen years in the ſervice, where he frequently dies miſerably in hoſpitals, unprovided of proper neceſſaries; is what nothing can excuſe, either in the ſight of God or man.

XXIII.

Have you taken care to ſet every galley-ſlave at liberty, immediately after the time allotted for his puniſhment is expired? The condition of theſe people is very terrible; nothing is more inhuman, than to prolong it beyond the term. It is no excuſe to ſay, that in this caſe men would be wanting to make up the whole crew; juſtice is preferable to having the crew compleat: You ſhould never look upon any power as true and real, but that which belongs to you without tranſgreſſing the rules of juſtice, or taking what is not yours.

XXIV.

Do you give your troops the pay that is ſufficient to maintain them without

out plunder? if you do not, you lay them under a neceſſity of committing the robberies and wrongs you ſeem diſpoſed to forbid them. Would you puniſh them for having done what you know they could not avoid, and without which they muſt of neceſſity have quitted your ſervice? And, on the other hand, would you not puniſh them, when they rob publickly againſt your expreſs prohibition? Would you make the laws contemptible, and ſuffer ſuch an indignity to be offered to your authority? Will you openly act inconſiſtently with yourſelf; and will not your authority be a meer farce, in ſeeming to diſcountenance diſorders, and at the ſame time making your advantage of them every moment? What diſcipline or order can be hoped for in troops, where the officers cannot live but by plundering the King's ſubjects, by tranſgreſſing his ordinances every moment, and obliging men to enliſt by force and fraud; where the ſoldiers would

would be ſtarved to death, if they did not every day deſerve to be hanged.

XXV.

Have you done no injuſtice to foreign nations? A poor wretch is hanged for an high-way robbery of a ſingle piſtole, committed in extreme neceſſity; and the man who makes a conqueſt, or, in other words, who brings under an unjuſt yoke the territories of a neighbouring ſtate is reſpected as an hero. The unjuſt ſeizure of a meadow or a vineyard, is conſidered as a ſin not to be forgiven by God without reſtitution; and the uſurpation of towns and provinces is counted as nothing. To take a field from a private man is a great ſin; but to take a large country from a nation, is an innocent and a glorious action. Where then are the ideas of juſtice? Will God judge in like manner? *Exiſtimaſti iniquè, quod ero tui ſimilis*; "Thou thoughteſt wickedly, "that I ſhall be ſuch a one as thyſelf." Does juſtice depend upon what is greater

er or leſs? Or, does it ceaſe to be any longer juſtice, when converſant about objects of the higheſt concern? Are the millions, which make up a nation, leſs our brethren than a ſingle man? Or, ſhall we, without ſcruple, do that injury to millions of men where a whole country is concerned, which we dare not do to a ſingle man in the caſe of a particular field? Whatever therefore is taken away by mere conqueſt, is taken away unjuſtly, and ought to be reſtored. And the caſe is the ſame with whatever is taken away in a war, that is engaged in upon a wrong account. Treaties of peace hide nothing, when you are the ſtronger, and oblige your neighbour to ſign the treaty to avoid a greater miſchief; he then ſigns, as a private man gives his purſe to a thief who holds a piſtol to his breaſt. The war you have wrongfully begun, and carried on with ſucceſs, inſtead of procuring you peace of conſcience, engages you not only to reſtore the territories you have uſurped, but alſo to repair the

the damages you have done, without cauſe, to your neighbours. As to treaties of peace, they are to be reckoned null, not only in all the unjuſt points, which have been conſented to through violence, but likewiſe in all thoſe where you have found means to inſert any artful and ambiguous expreſſion, that may be capable of ſerving your turn upon a favourable occaſion. Your enemy is your brother; nor can you be unmindful of it, unleſs you forget yourſelf to be a man. You are never allowed to do ill to him, when you can avoid it without injuring yourſelf; nor can you ever ſeek to gain any advantage againſt him by arms, but in a very great neceſſity. In treaties, neither arms, nor war, have place any longer; the ſubject then only is peace, juſtice, humanity, and ſincerity. It is far more infamous and criminal, to over-reach in a treaty of peace with a neighbouring people, than to be guilty of tricking in a contract with a private perſon. To inſert ambiguous and captious terms in a treaty,

ty, is to prepare the ſeeds of war for the generation to come, it is to lay barrels of powder under houſes that are inhabited.

XXVI.

When the ſubject of a war was in debate, did you, from the beginning, examine your pretenſions, and cauſe them to be enquired into by others, who were men of diſtinguiſhed underſtanding, and leaſt liable to flatter you? Have you been upon your guard againſt the advice of ſuch miniſters, as have an intereſt in engaging you in a war, or at leaſt ſeek to comply with your paſſions, with a view of procuring from you wherewithal to gratify their own? Have you enquired into all the reaſons that may be urged againſt you? Have you lent a favourable ear to ſuch as have ſearched thoroughly into them? Have you allowed yourſelf time to know the ſentiments of the wiſeſt of your counſellors, without anticipating their judgments? Have you not conſidered

ſidered your perſonal glory as a reaſon for engaging you in any attempt, for fear of paſſing your life without diſtinguiſhing yourſelf from other Princes? As if Princes could find any ſolid glory in moleſting the happineſs of the people, towards whom they ought to bear a paternal affection: as if a parent could gain eſteem by ſuch actions as make his children unhappy: or, as if a King could hope for any real glory, that was not founded in his virtue, that is, in his juſtice, and in the good government of his people? Have you not judged the war to be neceſſary for acquiring ſuch places as were commodious to you, and a better ſecurity for your frontiers? A ſtrange rule! Were ſuch conveniencies to take place, one might go from one neighbouring ſituation to another, till we reach'd to China. As to the ſecurity of a frontier, it may be found without encroaching upon the property of another. Fortify your own places, and do not wrongfully ſeize upon thoſe of your neigh-

neighbours. Would you allow your neighbour to take whatever he ſhould judge commodious for his ſecurity? Your ſecurity gives you no right to another's property. Your ſafeſt ſecurity is to act juſtly; it is to keep good allies, by an upright and diſcreet conduct; it is to have a numerous people, in proſperous circumſtances, well-affected, and well-diſciplined. But what can be more contrary to your ſecurity than to let your neighbours ſee they can expect none from you, and that you are always diſpoſed to take from them whatever ſhall be commodious to yourſelf?

XXVII.

Have you thoroughly examined whether the war in debate was neceſſary to your people? Perhaps the point in queſtion concerned only ſome perſonal claim of your own, wherein your people had no real intereſt? What importports it to them, whether you have a province more? They may, out of a

fection to you, if you carry it to them as a father, aſſiſt you in the recovery of ſuch territories, as by right of ſucceſſion lawfully belong to you; but can you load them with taxes againſt their inclination, to ſupply yourſelf with the funds neceſſary to carry on a war, wherein they have no advantage? Farther, let us ſuppoſe the war directly to concern the ſtate; it is your duty to conſider, whether the profit or loſs is likely to be greater. You ſhould compare the benefits that may be drawn from it, or at leaſt the miſchiefs that may be apprehended from not engaging in it, with the inconveniencies that will neceſſarily follow after it. When all is over, there is ſcarce any war, however happily executed, that is not attended with greater miſchief than advantage to a ſtate. Conſider but how many families it ruins, how many lives it coſts, how many countries it ravages and depopulates, how many diſorders it brings upon an eſtate, how it ſubverts the laws, how it countenanceth licentiouſ-

neſs, and how many years it requires to ſet right what ſhall be done amiſs in only two years war, with reſpect to the good government of a ſtate. Would any ſenſible man, that was not influenced by his paſſion, engaged in a law-ſuit, tho' ſure of his right, if he was convinced before-hand, that though he gained his cauſe, it would do more miſchief than ſervice to the large family he had to take care of? This juſt weighing of the good and ill ariſing from the war, would always determine a good King to decline it, by reaſon of its fatal conſequences; for, where are the advantages, that can counterballance ſo many inevitable miſchiefs, without mentioning the dangers following upon ill ſucceſs? There can be but one caſe, where a war, notwithſtanding all its ills, becomes neceſſary; and that is, when we cannot avoid it without giving too great advantage to an unjuſt and crafty enemy, who is already too powerful. Then, indeed, by endeavouring weakly to avoid a war,

we ſhould only fall more dangerouſly into it; we ſhould make a peace, which in reality would be no peace, and only carry the deceitful appearance of being ſo. Then, indeed, however diſinclined to it, it would be a duty to puſh on the war with vigour, through a ſincere deſire of promoting a good and laſting peace. But this ſingle caſe more ſeldom happens than we are apt to imagine; and frequently is judged to be real, when it is highly chimerical. When a King is juſt, ſincere, inviolably faithful to all his allies, and powerful in his own country through the wiſdom of his government, he has wherewithal to put a ſtop to the encroachments of his reſtleſs and unjuſt neighbours, who are diſpoſed to fall upon him. All the world is concerned in ſupporting him. If his cauſe be juſt, he may firſt purſue all the mildeſt methods, before he enters upon war; having prepared againſt all events, by powerfully arming himſelf, he may offer to take the advice of certain neutral and

diſintereſted neighbours; he may take ſomething upon himſelf for the ſake of peace, avoid all ſteps that may exaſperate, and try all the ways of accommodation; and if all this proves to be of no purpoſe, he will fight with greater confidence in the protection of God, with greater zeal in his ſubjects, and more firmly ſuccour'd by his allies. But it will ſeldom happen, that he will be obliged to make war under ſuch circumſtances. Three fourths of the wars that are engaged in, ariſe from pride and haughtineſs, from craft, covetouſneſs, and precipitation.

XXVIII.

Have you faithfully kept your word with your enemies, in capitulations, cartels, *&c.* War has its laws, which are no leſs ſtrictly to be obſerved, than thoſe of peace. Even when two parties are at war, there ſubſiſts a certain Law of Nations, which is the ground-plot of humility itſelf; it is a ſacred and inviolable obligation between People,

people, which no war can diſſolve; otherwiſe, war would be no more than plunder, and a perpetual Series of treacheries, aſſaſſinations, abominations, and barbarities. You ſhould do to your enemies what you think they have a right to do to you. There are violences and ſtratagems in war which are mutual, and are expected on both ſides. In all other reſpects, there ought to be a ſtrict ſincerity and a true humanity. It is not allowed, to render fraud for fraud. It is not allowed, for inſtance, to enter into engagements with a view of breaking them, becauſe the enemy has made promiſes to you, which he has not kept. Farther, In a war between two independent nations, the more noble or more mighty crown is not to decline ſubmitting equally to all the laws that are common to war. A Prince, who plays with a private man, is no leſs obliged than he, to obſerve ſtrictly all the laws of the game, from the time that he plays with him; in that reſpect, tho' in that only, he puts

himself upon the same footing with him. The most high and mighty Prince ought to be the most scrupulous in rigidly keeping up to all the rules required in the contributions, which secure his people from captures, massacres, and conflagrations; in cartels, capitulations, &c.

XXIX.

It is not enough to observe the capitulations made with enemies; those that are made with a conquered people must likewise be religiously kept. As you should keep your word with the enemy's garrison, which is withdrawn from a conquered town, without any fraudulent interpretation of ambiguous terms; so ought you to keep strictly your word with the people of the town, and its dependencies. Of what importance is it, to whom you promised the conditions agreed to in favour of the people? The case is the same, whether the engagement was made with themselves or the garrison. Certain it is, that

that you have promiſed ſuch conditions for the people, and it is your duty to keep them inviolably. Who can truſt you if you break them? Or what will ever be ſacred, if ſuch a promiſe is not? It is a contract entered into with the people, to make them your ſubjects; and will you begin with the violation of your fundamental title? They owe you obedience only by virtue of this contract, and if you break it, you no longer deſerve to have them keep it.

XXX.

Have you not, during the war, done uſeleſs miſchief to your enemies? Thoſe enemies are always men, and always your brethren. If you are yourſelf a true man, you ought to do them no other miſchief than what you cannot avoid doing, to ſecure yourſelf from the harm they would do you, and to bring them to a juſt peace. Have you not invented and introduced purely for the ſake of deſtroying them, through paſ-

ſion or pride, new kinds of hoſtilities? Have you not countenanced ravages, burnings, ſacrileges, and maſſacres, which have not been deciſive, without which you might have defended your cauſe, and notwithſtanding which your enemies have equally carried on their oppoſition againſt you? You muſt give an account to God, and make reparation to the utmoſt of your power for all the ills which you have authorized, and which have been done without neceſſity.

XXXI.

Have you punctually executed treaties of peace? Have you never broken them under ſpecious pretences? As to the articles in the antient treaties which are ambiguous, inſtead of making them the ground-work of a war, they ought to be interpreted by the execution which immediately followed them. This immediate execution is the infallible interpretation of the words. The parties, immediately after the treaty,

ty, underſtood each other perfectly well; they knew better what they intended to ſay, than other perſons can know fifty years after. Thus poſſeſſion is deciſive in this reſpect; and to endeavour to diſturb it, is an attempt to elude what is moſt certain and inviolable amongſt mankind. To give ſome ſtability to the world, and ſecurity to nations, there are two points to be ſuppoſed preferable to all others, which are as the two poles of the whole earth. The one, that every treaty of peace confirmed by oath between two princes is inviolable with reſpect to them, and muſt always be taken ſimply in its moſt natural ſenſe, and interpreted by the immediate execution. The other, that every quiet and uninterrupted poſſeſſion for a length of time, equivalent to the term required by law for fixing the moſt unfavourable preſcription, muſt procure a certain and lawful property to the poſſeſſor, however defective the poſſeſſion may have originally been. Without

theſe two fundamental rules, there is no reſt nor ſecurity amongſt mankind. Have you conſtantly followed them?

XXXII.

Have you done juſtice to the merit of all the principal ſubjects whom you was able to put into employments? In not doing juſtice to private perſons in their ſubſtance, their lands, rents, &c. you wrong only thoſe private perſons and their families; but in not paying a proper regard to virtue and abilities in the choice of men, you do an irreparable injuſtice to your whole ſtate. The Perſons you have not choſe into places have in reality loſt nothing; as thoſe places would have been to them but opportunities, dangerous both to their eternal ſalvation, and their temporal eaſe; but it is your whole kingdom that you have unjuſtly deprived of an aſſiſtance which God had prepared for it. Men of ſuperior genius and integrity are more ſcarce than can well be imagined; they ſhould be ſought

ſought for even to the ends of the earth: *Procul & de ultimis finibus pretium ejus*; as the wiſeman expreſſes himſelf of the virtuous woman. Why have you deprived the ſtate of the aſſiſtance of ſuch men as have been ſuperiour to others? Was it not your duty to fill the higheſt places with the choiceſt men? Was it not the principal part of your office? A king does not diſcharge the duty of a king, by attending to ſuch particulars, as others who govern under him are capable of directing; his eſſential function is to do that which nobody but himſelf can do; it is, to make a good choice of ſuch as are to exerciſe his authority under him; it is to aſſign to every one the place which properly ſuits him; and to do all in the ſtate, not by himſelf (for that were impoſſible) but by cauſing all to be done by the men he makes choice of, animates, inſtructs, and puts into the right way. This is the proper buſineſs of the King. Have you quitted all the reſt, which others, under

under you were capable of doing, in order to apply yourſelf to this eſſential branch of your duty, which you alone was capable of diſcharging? Have you been careful to mark out a certain number of ſenſible and well-minded perſons, by whom to be informed of the ſeveral ſubjects, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in every profeſſion? Have you queſtioned them all ſeparately, in order to ſee if their teſtimonies concerning each ſubject agreed together? Have you had patience to enquire, by theſe different channels, into the ſentiments, inclinations, habits, and conduct of every man, whom you have had it in your power to put into a place? Have you ſeen the men themſelves? To be continually ſhut up in a cloſet, and diſpatching buſineſs there, is to rob the ſtate of the moſt precious part of your time. A King muſt ſee, talk to, and hear abundance of perſons; he muſt learn by his experience to ſtudy men, and muſt know them by frequent converſation and a free acceſs. If you ſtudy

ſtudy men well, without ſeeming to do it, converſation will be far more uſeful to you than many points which are judged important: you will thereby diſcern their levity, indiſcretion, vanity, and artifice, their flatteries, and their falſe maxims. Princes have an infinite power over thoſe that are about them; and thoſe who are about them have an equal weakneſs in approaching them. The ſight of princes awakens every paſſion, and lays open all the wounds of the heart. If a prince knows how to make an advantage of this aſcendant, he will ſoon diſcover the principal weakneſſes of every man. Another way of making trial of men is by putting them into lower employments, to ſee if they will be fit for ſuch as are higher. Have an eye upon the behaviour of the men in their office, whom you truſt with any employment, follow them cloſe, never loſe ſight of them, learn what they do, and make them give you an account of what you have committed to their charge,

charge, turn your diſcourſe upon this head when you ſee them. Thus you will never want ſubject for converſation. You will find out their natural diſpoſition by the parts they have taken of themſelves. It may ſometimes not be amiſs to conceal your own real ſentiments, in order to diſcover theirs; aſk their advice, you may follow what you pleaſe. This is the proper duty of a King. Have you diſcharged it? Have you not neglected to know men, thro' an indolence of temper, thro' particularity of humour, thro' an haughtineſs of diſpoſition which has made you decline ſociety, thro' engaging in matters which are but trifles in compariſon of this ſtudy of mankind; or laſtly, by amuſement in your cloſet under a ſhew of purſuing buſineſs in private? Have you not dreaded, and for that reaſon removed far from you ſuch ſubjects as have been diſtinguiſhed from others by their courage and virtue? Have you not been afraid leſt they ſhould pry too narrowly

rowly into your conduct, and make too great diſcoveries of your weakneſſes, if placed too near your perſon? Have you not been afraid that they would not flatter you, that they would oppoſe your unjuſt paſſions, your bad taſtes, your mean and unbecoming deſigns? Have you not rather choſe to make uſe of certain intereſted and crafty perſons, who make it their buſineſs to flatter you, who ſeem not to ſee any of your faults, and applaud all your whims; or rather of certain mean ſervile people whom you eaſily ſway, whom you hope to blind, without courage ever to contradict you, and who govern you the more as you have no diſtruſt of their authority, and are not afraid that they ſhould ſhew themſelves to be of a genius ſuperior to your own? Have you not, through ſuch bad motives as theſe, advanced weak or wicked men to the higheſt places; and removed far from you what was better able to aſſiſt you in affairs of the greateſt conſequence? To rob another of his lands, poſts, or money, is an

an injuſtice by no means comparable with this that I have mentioned.

XXIII.

Have you not accuſtomed your domeſtics to a more expenſive way of living than their condition has required, and to ſalaries which have been a burden to the ſtate? Do not your valets de chambre, valets de garderobe, &c. live like lords, whilſt perſons of real quality pine away in your anti-chamber without any benefit, and many others of the moſt illuſtrious houſes live retired in the provinces, under neceſſity of concealing their wretchedneſs? Have you not, under the pretext of keeping up the ſplendour of your court, countenanced luxury of dreſs, equipages and furniture, in all ſubaltern officers, who have neither birth, nor ſolid merit, and who think themſelves ſuperiour to perſons of quality, becauſe they talk familiarly to you, and eaſily obtain favours from you? Have you not been too much afraid of their

their importunity? Have you not been more afraid of diſobliging them, than of neglecting to do juſtice? Have you not been too much influenced by the vain marks of zeal and attachment to your perſon, which they eagerly expreſs towards you, with a view to pleaſe you, and advance their own fortune? Have you not made them wretched, by letting them conceive hopes that were diſproportioned to their own condition and your affection for them? Have you not ruined their families, by letting them die without any ſolid ſubſtance to leave to their children, after having ſuffered them to live in a ridiculous pomp, which conſumed the great profits they received from you during their life-time? And has not the caſe been the ſame with your other courtiers, according to their reſpective degrees? Whilſt they live, they drain the whole kingdom; and when they die, they leave their families worth nothing. You give them too much, and at the ſame time make them ſpend too much; and thus

thus thoſe who ruin the ſtate, ruin alſo themſelves. It is you who are the cauſe of it, by keeping ſo many uſeleſs proud ſpendthrifts about you, who from their fooliſh extravagancies have a right to demand freſh contributions from you, which they may ſtill be able to ſquander away.

XXXIV.

Have you taken up no prejudice againſt any particular perſon, without making a ſufficient enquiry into the facts laid to his charge? This would be to open a paſſage to calumny and miſreport, or at leaſt unadviſedly to fall in with the prejudices of the perſons that are about you, and in whom you place your confidence. You muſt not liſten and give credit only to a certain ſet of men; they are certainly men, and though they were even incorruptible, they are at leaſt not infallible. Whatever confidence you have in their judgment and virtue, you are obliged to examine whether they are not deceived by

by others, or obſtinately blind themſelves. As often as you give yourſelf up to a certain ſet of men, who are allied by the ſame intereſt, or by the ſame ſentiments, you wilfully expoſe yourſelf to be miſled, and to act wrongfully. Have you not ſometimes cloſed your eyes againſt certain ſtrong reaſons, or at leaſt have you not acted rigorouſly in a doubtful caſe, to ſatisfy thoſe about you, whom you feared to diſoblige? Have you not thrown out of places perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit and abilities, upon uncertain reports? It is a natural ſuggeſtion, *Theſe accuſations cannot poſſibly be got over, the ſureſt way is to put the man out of place.* But this pretended caution is the moſt dangerous ſnare, that can be laid. For by this means there is made no diſcovery, and the informers gain all that they aim at. A final judgment is paſſed without due examination; merit is excluded, and frightful images are formed of the Perſons, whom the informers would have ſuſpected. By an informer

informer, is meant a man who takes up this trade, and by this horrid employment ſeeks to inſinuate himſelf into favour, and by conſequence is evidently undeſerving of any credit. To believe him, is wilfully to expoſe one's ſelf to deſtroy the innocent. A Prince who lends an ear to profeſſed informers, deſerves neither to be acquainted with truth nor virtue. Theſe peſts ſhould be put out of Countenance and driven from court. But as the Prince ought to know what is done, he ſhould have about him ſome honeſt men, whom he muſt oblige even againſt their inclination to have a watchful eye upon all that paſſes, and to give him notice of it in ſecret. For this office he ſhould make choice of perſons the moſt oppoſite to it, and who moſt abhor the infamous practice of informing. Theſe will lay before him only real and important facts, which are of uſe to the publick without troubling him with every trifle, which it imports him not to know. At leaſt they will ſpeak of doubt-

doubtful matters as doubtful; and it will be his part to ſearch more narrowly into them, or to ſuſpend his judgment if they cannot be cleared up.

XXXV.

Have you not beſtowed too many good offices upon your miniſters, your favourites, and their creatures, whilſt you have ſuffered perſons of merit, who have ſerved long, and want protection, to live neceſſitous? Uſually the great failing of Princes is, that they are weak, voluptuous, and indolent. They are ſeldom guided either by merit, or the real faults of mankind; the true nature of things does not reach them; their determination ordinarily proceeds from their not daring to decline compliance with thoſe whom they are accuſtomed to ſee and believe. They often bear them with impatience, and yet continue ſlaves to them; they ſee their faults and are content with ſeeing them. They pleaſe themſelves with not being duped by them, and after that they blindly

blindly follow them. To them they ſacrifice merit, innocence, diſtinguiſhed talents, and the longeſt ſervices. Sometimes they ſhall lend a favourable ear to the man that ſhall preſume to ſpeak againſt thoſe miniſters or favourites, and upon ſeeing the charge clearly made out, they ſhall ſtorm, and promiſe to ſupport the accuſer againſt the miniſter, or the favourite. But ſoon the Prince ſhall grow weary of protecting the man, whoſe ſole dependance is upon himſelf; the protection is too painful to him in the end; and for fear of ſeeing a diſſatisfied countenance in the perſon of the miniſter, the honeſt man, who hath told him the truth, ſhall be given up to his indignation. After this, do you deſerve to be informed? Can you hope that any one will inform you? What wiſe man will preſume to apply himſelf directly to you, without taking the miniſter in his Way, whoſe jealouſy is implacable? Do you not deſerve to ſee only with his eyes? And are you not given up to his moſt unjuſt

juſt paſſions, and moſt unreaſonable prejudices? And have you any remedy left againſt ſo great an evil?

XXXVI.

Do you not ſuffer yourſelf to be blindly carried away by certain vain enterprizing men, who have the art to ſet themſelves off, whilſt you neglect and take no notice of plain, modeſt, baſhful, and concealed merit? A Prince ſhews the groſſneſs of his taſte, and the weakneſs of his judgment, when he cannot diſcern how ſuperficial and full of contemptible faults theſe bold and impoſing perſons are. Light-headed people, great talkers, pragmatical and poſitive perſons, ſcornful criticiſers, and banterers, who turn every thing into a joke, are never eſteemed by a wiſe and judicious Prince. He deſpiſeth ſuch as find every thing eaſy, who applaud every thing he likes, and who watch his eyes, or the tone of his voice, to find out his intention, and to approve of it. He keeps out of all places of truſt

truſt ſuch perſons as are meer outſides without depth; and on the contrary ſearches after, anticipates, and invites judicious and ſolid perſons, who are not eager after employment, but diſtruſt themſelves, and are afraid of being employed, who promiſe little and endeavour to do a great deal, who ſpeak ſeldom and think much, who expreſs themſelves in a doubtful manner, and know how to contradict with reſpect. Such ſubjects often remain obſcure in inferior places, whilſt the higher poſts are filled by bold and ignorant men, who have impoſed upon the Prince, and ſerve only to ſhew how much he wants diſcretion. Whilſt you neglect to enquire after concealed merit, and to diſcourage forward men without ſolid talents, you will be anſwerable to God for all the faults that ſhall be committed by thoſe who act under you. The trade of an artful courtier is very deſtructive to a ſtate. The leaſt underſtanding, and the moſt corrupted, are often thoſe who are beſt

ſkilled

ſkilled in this unworthy profeſſion. It is a profeſſion which ſpoils all others. The doctor neglects his practice; the prelate overlooks the duties of his miniſtry; the general of an army thinks more of making his court, than of defending the ſtate; the ambaſſador negociates more for his own intereſt at his maſter's court, than for the true intereſt of his maſter at the court to which he is ſent. The art of making court corrupts men of all profeſſions, and ſtifles real merit. Bring down then thoſe men whoſe whole talent lies in pleaſing, in flattering, in caſting falſe appearances before your eyes, and in inſinuating themſelves to make their fortune. If you do not, you will fill all places unworthily, and true merit will be always left behind. It is your duty to put back thoſe who truſt themſelves too forward, and to bring forward thoſe, who by doing their duty, ſtay too far behind.

XXXVII.

Have you not heaped too many employments upon the head of a ſingle man, either to gratify his ambition, or to ſave yourſelf the trouble of having too many people, whom you ſhall be obliged to ſpeak to? When once a man comes to be the man in faſhion, all is given to him; and it is judged right, that he only ſhould do every thing. Not that he is loved, for nothing is ſo; nor that he is depended on, for the probity of all mankind is diſtruſted; nor that he is found perfect, for it is a pleaſure frequently to find fault with him; but merely from indolence and ſelf-will. One cares not to have to do with abundance of People; to converſe with fewer, and not be too narrowly obſerved by ſo many, one ſhall make a ſingle man do, what four would find a great difficulty in doing. The public ſuffers by it, diſpatches linger, overſights and wrongs are more frequent, and leſs capable of being remedied. The man is over-

over-burdened, and would be highly diſpleaſed if he were not. He has no time either to think, or to make a thorough enquiry, or to form ſchemes, or to ſtudy the men whom he employs, but is conſtantly dragged on, from day to day, by a torrent of buſineſs which he has to diſpatch. Beſides, ſuch a number of employments in one ſingle perſon, frequently weak enough, excludes all the better ſubjects, that were capable of forming and executing great things. No opportunity is given for the improvement of any talent; and the Prince's indolence is the real cauſe of it. The moſt weighty affairs are determined by the ſlighteſt reaſons. And thence ariſe innumerable wrongs. *Pauca de te*, ſaid St. Auguſtine to Count Boniface, *ſed multa propter te*. Poſſibly you may not do much harm in your ſingle perſon, but infinite miſchief by putting your authority into bad hands.

Here ended the heads of Self-examination: But the following diſcourſe, whereof the manuſcript alſo is entirely remaining in the hand-writing of Monſ. de Fenelon, Archbiſhop of Cambray, has been judged a proper Supplement to them, and fit to make up one * *piece with the foregoing.*

NEighbouring ſtates are not only obliged to behave mutually towards each other according to the rules of juſtice and honeſty, but ought likewiſe, as well for the ſake of their own ſecurity, as of their common intereſt, to form themſelves into a kind of ſociety and general republick.

It ſhould be held as a maxim, that the greateſt power will in time always prevail over and overthrow the reſt, unleſs the latter unite to keep the balance even. There is no reaſon to hope

* This is the piece which is ſuppoſed to have moſt diſpleaſed, in ſome ſhape, certain of the French miniſtry, and principally determined them to ſuppreſs this whole work.

that

that amongſt mankind a ſuperior power ſhould conſtantly be kept within the bounds of a ſtrict moderation, or that it ſhould not be diſpoſed to deſire more when ſtrong, than it was able to obtain in its greateſt weakneſs. Though there even was a prince of ſo much perfection as to make ſuch a wonderful uſe of his proſperity, the wonder would ceaſe with his reign. The natural ambition of ſovereign princes, the flatteries of their counſellors, and the prejudice of whole nations, will not allow us to think it poſſible, that one nation which has it in its power to conquer others, ſhould abſtain from it for whole ages; one reign diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an extraordinary diſplay of juſtice, would be the ornament of hiſtory, and a prodigy never more to be ſeen again. We muſt therefore rely upon fact and daily obſervation, that every nation is deſirous of prevailing over all the others that lie round it. Every nation, therefore, is obliged, for its own ſecurity, to be continually upon its guard, to prevent the

exceſſive growth of power in every neighbour. To hinder a neighbour from growing too powerful, is not to do evil; it is to ſecure ourſelves from ſlavery, and our neighbours alſo; it is to ſtand up in the cauſe of liberty, tranquility, and the public ſafety; for the aggrandizing of a nation beyond certain bounds, changes the general ſyſtem of all the nations that have any relation to it. For inſtance, the ſeveral ſucceſſions that fell into the houſe of Burgundy, and then thoſe which advanced the houſe of Auſtria, changed the face of all Europe. All Europe had reaſon to apprehend an univerſal monarchy under Charles V. eſpecially after Francis I. had loſt the battle of Pavia, and was taken priſoner. It is certain, that a nation, which had no direct quarrel with Spain, had, notwithſtanding, at that time a right, in regard to the publick liberty, to oppoſe the rapid courſe of that power, which ſeemed ready to ſwallow up all before it.

Private

Private perſons have no right to oppoſe the increaſe of riches in their neighbours, becauſe we may ſuppoſe, that this increaſe in one cannot be the ruin of the reſt. There are written laws, and magiſtrates, to reſtrain the wrongs and violences committed between families unequal in ſubſtance; but with ſtates, the caſe is far otherwiſe. The too great increaſe of one only may be the ruin and ſlavery of all the others, who are neighbours to it; nor are there either written laws, or judges appointed, to ſerve as a barrier againſt the invaſions of the moſt powerful. They have always a right to ſuppoſe, that the moſt powerful will at length exert its ſtrength, when there ſhall be no other force of a like degree to put a ſtop to its progreſs. Thus every Prince has a right, and is even obliged, to prevent ſuch an increaſe of power in his neighbour, as will expoſe both his own people, and all the other neighbouring people, to the approach-

ing danger of ſlavery without redemption.

For inſtance, Philip II. King of Spain, after he had conquered Portual, had a mind to make himſelf maſter of England. I know well, that his title was ill-grounded, for he had no claim but by Queen Mary his wife, who died without children. Elizabeth, who was illegitimate, had no right to reign. The crown belonged to Mary Stuart, and her ſon. But ſuppoſing that the right of Philip II. had been inconteſtable, all Europe would have had reaſon, notwithſtanding, to have oppoſed his ſettlement in England; becauſe the addition of ſo mighty a kingdom to his dominions in Spain, Italy, Flanders, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, would have enabled him to give law, eſpecially by his maritime force, to all the other powers of Chriſtendom. In this caſe, *Summum jus, ſumma injuria.* A particular right of ſucceſſion, or donation, ought to yield to the natural law of

of the ſecurity of ſo many nations. In a word, whatever overthrows the equilibrium, and gives the deciſive ſtroke for Univerſal Monarchy, cannot be juſt, though it were even founded upon the written laws of a particular country. The reaſon is, that theſe written laws of a particular people, cannot prevail over the natural law of liberty and the common ſecurity, engraven in the hearts of all the other people of the world. Where power riſes to ſuch a height, that all the other neighbouring powers together are no longer able to reſiſt it, all the others have a right to combine together to prevent that encreaſe, in conſequence of which it would be too late to defend the common liberty. But before ſuch leagues, which tend to prevent the too great encreaſe of power in a ſtate, can be lawfully formed the caſe muſt be real and preſſing; the league muſt likewiſe be only defenſive; or at leaſt made no farther offenſive, than as a juſt and neceſſary defence ſhall find itſelf included in the ſcheme of an ag-

greſſion; there muſt alſo, in treaties of offenſive leagues, ſuch fixed bounds be always ſet, as never to deſtroy a power under a pretence of limiting it.

This care to keep up a kind of equality and equilibrium amongſt neighbouring nations, is that which ſecures the common repoſe. In this reſpect, all the nations that are neighbours to each other, and united by commerce, make up a great body, and a kind of community. For inſtance, Chriſtendom makes a kind of general republick, which has its intereſts, its apprehenſions, its precautions to obſerve. All the members, which compoſe this great body, are under obligations to each other for the ſake of the common good, and to themſelves for the ſecurity of their country, to prevent ſuch a progreſs in any one of their members, as would ſubvert the equilibrium, and turn to the inevitable ruin of all the other members of the ſame body. Whatever changes or alters this general ſyſtem of Europe, is too dangerous, and

and draws after it an infinite train of evils.

All the neighbouring Nations are ſo united by their intereſts to each other, and to the whole body of Europe, that the leaſt particular advances are capable of altering this general ſyſtem, which conſtitutes the equilibrium, and wherein alone the publick ſecurity can conſiſt. Take away one ſtone from an arch, and the whole building ſhall fall, becauſe all the ſtones are ſupported by their preſſure againſt each other.

Humanity therefore lays the neighbouring nations under a mutual obligation to defend the common ſafety againſt a neighbouring ſtate, which becomes too powerful; as there are mutual obligations amongſt fellow-citizens for the liberty of their country. If a citizen owes much to his country, whereof he is a member, every nation owes ſtill more to the repoſe and ſafety of the univerſal republick, whereof it is a member, and in which all the countries

countries of particular perſons are included.

Defenſive leagues are therefore juſt and neceſſary, when the buſineſs really is to prevent a particular power from growing to ſuch a height, as to be able to invade the whole. Nor has this ſuperior power a right to break the peace with the other inferior powers, merely upon account of their defenſive league; becauſe they have a right to make it, and are even under obligations ſo to do.

As to an offenſive league, it depends upon circumſtances. It ſhould be grounded upon breaches of the peace, or upon the detention of ſome country belonging to the allies, or upon the certainty of ſome other reſembling foundation. Farther, as I have already obſerved, ſuch treaties ſhould be always limited to conditions, that may prevent the conſequences which are frequently ſeen to follow, when one nation lays hold of the neceſſity of humbling another,

ther, which aſpires to univerſal tyranny, in order to aſpire to it itſelf in its turn. The proper way of making treaties of alliance, as well as the juſteſt and honeſteſt, is to make them very expreſs, free from all equivocal terms, and preciſely limited to the certain benefit you more immediately deſire to obtain from them. If great care is not taken of this, your engagements will turn to your diſadvantage, by reducing your enemies too low, and advancing your ally too high. In this caſe, you muſt either ſuffer what is deſtructive to you, or depart from your engagements; both which particulars are almoſt equally fatal.

Let us go on to argue upon theſe principles in the particular caſe of Chriſtendom, as it is that wherein we are moſt concerned.

There are here only four kinds of ſyſtems. The firſt is to be abſolutely ſuperior to all the other powers, even when united. This is the ſtate of the Romans, and that of Charlemagne.

The

The ſecond is to be the ſuperior power in Chriſtendom to the others ſingly, who, notwithſtanding, when united, ſhall be nearly equal. The third is to be a power inferior to another, but ſupported by its union with all its neighbours againſt the predominant power. Laſtly, the fourth is to be a power as near as may be equal to another, which keeps all quiet by this kind of equilibrium, which it honeſtly ſuſtains without ambition.

The ſtate of the Romans and Charlemagne is by no means a ſtate to be deſired. Firſt, as it cannot be obtained without committing great wrongs and violences of all ſorts; you muſt ſeize upon what does not belong to you, and do it by wars, abominable both as to their duration and extent. Secondly, The deſign is very dangerous; for ſtates are often ruined by the folly of theſe ambitious purſuits. Thirdly, Thoſe immenſe empires, which have wrought ſo much miſchief in their formation, have ſoon after ſuffered more

more terribly by their fall. The firſt minority, or weak Prince upon the throne, ſhakes the too heavy maſs, and ſeparates the people, who are not as yet accuſtomed to the yoke, or not thorougly united; and then what diviſions ariſe, what confuſion, what anarchy, without remedy? We need but recollect the ills which fell out in the Weſt, upon the ſudden fall of the empire of Charlemagne; and the overthrow of that of Alexander in the Eaſt, whoſe captains did more miſchief in dividing his Spoils, than himſelf had done in ravaging Aſia. This is the ſyſtem moſt apt to dazzle, moſt flattering, and moſt fatal to thoſe who are able to execute it.

The ſecond ſyſtem is of a power ſuperior to all the others ſingly, but as near as may be equal to them when united. This ſuperior power has the advantage over the reſt, of being entirely uniform, uncompounded, abſolute in its orders, and certain in its meaſures. But in courſe of time, if by raiſing

raiſing the jealouſy of the reſt it ceaſes not to unite them againſt it, it cannot but fall; it exhauſts itſelf, and is expoſed to numberleſs unforeſeen accidents from within, or may ſuddenly be overthrown by attacks from without. Beſides, it ſpends itſelf to no purpoſe, and makes deſtructive efforts for a ſuperiority, which gives it no real advantage, and expoſes it to all manner of diſhonour and danger. Of all ſtates it is certainly the worſt; and the more ſo, as it can never tend, in its moſt proſperous condition, but to paſs into the former ſyſtem, which we have already ſeen to be unjuſt and pernicious.

The third ſyſtem is of a power inferior to another, but ſo that the inferior, united with the reſt of Europe, conſtitutes the equilibrium againſt the ſuperior, and the ſecurity of all the other leſſer ſtates. This ſyſtem has its diſadvantages and inconveniences; but is leſs hazardous than the foregoing, as it is upon the defenſive, is leſs liable to be exhauſted, has allies, and is not uſually,

uſually, whilſt in this ſtate of inferiority ſo inconſiderate and preſuming, as to threaten the ruin of thoſe which are ſuperior. We almoſt conſtantly ſee, that in a little time the prevailing powers decline and begin to fall. Provided that this inferior ſtate be wiſe, diſcreet, firm in its alliances, careful to give no umbrage to its allies, not to do any thing but by their advice for the common intereſt, it will find work for the ſuperior, till at laſt it humbles it.

The fourth ſyſtem, is of a power very nearly equal to another, with which it forms the equilibrium for the publick ſecurity. To be in this condition, without an inclination to depart from it, is the wiſeſt and happieſt ſtate. You are the common arbiter; your neighbours are all your friends; at leaſt, thoſe who are not ſo, for that very reaſon become ſuſpected by all the reſt. You do nothing which does not ſeem done for your neighbours, as well as for your people. You grow ſtronger every day; and if, as in courſe of time it

it will almoſt infallibly happen, that by a wiſe government you ſhall come to ſee more forces within, and more alliances without, than the power has which is jealous of yours, you muſt then more firmly perſiſt in that wiſe moderation, which confines you to ſupport the equilibrium and the common ſecurity. You muſt always bear in mind the ills which large conqueſts bring upon a ſtate, both from without and within; that they are without profit, and cannot be undertaken without great hazard; think, laſtly, of the vanity, inutility, and ſhort duration, of large empires, and of the ravages they occaſion when they fall.

But as it is not to be expected, that a power ſuperior to all the reſt ſhould continue long without abuſing that ſuperiority, a wiſe and a juſt Prince ſhould never wiſh to leave his ſucceſſors, who in all probability will be leſs diſcreet than himſelf, the continual and violent temptation of too plain a ſuperiority. Even for the welfare of his ſucceſſors

and

and his people, he ſhould confine himſelf to a kind of equality. It is true, there are two ſorts of ſuperiority; the one exterior, which conſiſts in extent of territory, in fortified places, in open paſſages into the countries of his neighbours, *&c.* This ſerves only to lay temptations, as fatal to himſelf as to his neighbours, to raiſe hatred, jealouſy, and leagues. The other is internal and ſolid, and conſiſts in a more numerous people, well inclined, and better exerciſed in tillage and neceſſary arts. This ſuperiority is uſually eaſy to be acquired, ſecure, ſheltered from envy and leagues, and e ven more adapted than conqueſts and ſtrong places to make a people invincible. This ſecond ſort of ſuperiority cannot be too much ſought after, nor the former too much avoided, which has only a falſe appearance of glory.

A SHORT

A

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE

Of the late

M. FRANC. DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE FENELON,

Preceptor to the Princes of FRANCE.

And afterwards

Archbiſhop and Duke of CAMBRAY, Prince of the HOLY EMPIRE.

THE account we now lay before the publick, muſt be conſidered only as a very ſhort abridgment. It will ſuffice, however to give a juſt idea of the character and virtues of the Archbiſhop of Cambray. He was born at

entirely with his own hand, cauſed them to be printed. There is in them a juſtneſs of taſte, and a knowledge of the rules, which may ſerve as ſure guides to judge of the compoſitions of the greateſt maſters of the art now in vogue. Preaching became afterwards ſo familiar to him, that he did not compoſe any more ſermons. A very little preparation ſerved him to form, in general, the plan of his diſcourſe, and the order he deſigned to obſerve in it; after which, he did no more than yield to the copiouſneſs wherewith he abounded. It was an overflowing ſpring, which diſcharged itſelf upon his auditory; and his eloquence had the beautiful charm of reaching the heart to affect it, which is not ordinarily found in ſtudied diſcourſes. Whilſt he was Biſhop, he preached regularly during Lent in one of the churches in the city, and upon ſome ſolemn days in the Cathedral, without giving the ſame ſermons over again the following year. The ſame ſubject was conſtantly handled with a different

different turn by a fruitful genius, which had no need at any time to copy itſelf. He viſited every pariſh in his dioceſe, both in the towns and country, without exception, and accompanied his viſitation with inſtructions to the people; but of ſo many ſublime and ſacred diſcourſes there are now no remains, except what has been preſerved in the hearts of his hearers. The dignity of the perſons, to whom he owed this reſpect, obliged him however to ſet down in writing the ſermon he preached at the conſecration of the Elector of Cologne, Joſeph Clement of Bavaria. Except this piece of Chriſtian eloquence, from his cuſtom of preaching without notes, he has left behind him no other performances of this nature, beſides the ſermons of his youth we have already mentioned. Their beauty, and the intereſting manner wherein the truths of the goſpel are there handled, do fully demonſtrate to us what he was in his earlier age, both as a Chriſtian, and an orator, and at

at the caſtle of Fenelon in Perigord, on the 6th of Auguſt, 1651. He began his ſtudies in the province and at the univerſity of Cahors. He finiſhed them at Paris, under the name of the Abbé de Fenelon. His uncle the Marquis de Fenelon, ſuperintended his education there. He was a man diſtinguiſhed by a great degree of merit and virtue. During the youth of *Lewis* XIV. he was the principal perſon concerned in the tranſactions that paſſed concerning duels. One ſingle circumſtance may enable us to paſs a judgment of his character. In making his compliments to M. de Harlay, with whom he lived in great familiarity, upon his nomination to the Archbiſhoprick of Paris, he added to it this reflection; *There is a conſiderable difference between the day wherein ſuch a nomination draws upon you the compliments of the whole kingdom of France, and the day of your death, when you muſt give an account to God of your adminiſtration.*

This

This uncle brought his nephew acquainted very early with a number of friends, who were perſons of great weight in the world. They immediately found him to be a young man of extraordinary talents; and the idea they conceived of him gave the firſt riſe to a reputation, which was in a ſhort time to be advanced to the higheſt degree. He was no ſooner entered into prieſts orders, than they conferred upon him the ſuperiority of the *Nouvelles-Catholiques*, and another community of females. His great talents for preaching were diſplayed in the ſermons and diſcourſes which this office gave him frequent occaſion to make. Thoſe of his ſermons which have been preſerved, and of which there is a collection printed, were compoſed at this time. We muſt alſo refer to the ſame time his *Dialogues upon Eloquence in general, and upon that of the pulpit in particular*; which were not publiſhed until after his death. The family having found the manuſcript among his papers, written entirely

the ſame time point out to us the great value of what we have loſt.

It was alſo in the younger part of his life, that having contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with a perſon of diſtinction, who had ſeveral daughters, he drew up for him, at his requeſt, his *Treatiſe of the education of daughters.* This diſcourſe, with another entituled, *The office of paſtors*, were the firſt production of his pen that were made public. The rules he lays down for the education of daughters, and his manner of treating this ſubject, ſhew how thoroughly acquainted the author was with the heart of man, and the incomparable talent he had for the education of youth. In his treatiſe of the office of paſtors, he lays down the ſame principles concerning the authority of the church which he ever afterwards maintained.

To theſe great abilities the young Abbé joined a kind of piety, to which he had been ſtrongly inclined from his infancy, and which conſiſted in ſuch a diſin-

a diſintereſtedneſs for himſelf, as to leave nothing to man, and aſcribe all to God. Such principles did not permit him to purſue the common methods, which are practiſed by thoſe who ſtudy to advance themſelves in the world. Mr. de Harlay, at that time Archbiſhop of Paris, at firſt received him extremely well. But obſerving him not to be over-earneſt in ſeeking his favour, he was offended at it, and ſaid to him one day, *Sir, you have a mind to be forgotten, and you ſhall be ſo.* Providence, however, did not ſuffer it. K. Lewis IV. having caſt his eyes upon the Duke of Beauvilliers, (whoſe great virtue was the example of the court) to make him governor to the princes his grandchildren; this nobleman, who was the ſame perſon for whom he had drawn up his treatiſe of the education of daughters, cauſed his friend to be choſen preceptor. The choice of the Abbé de Fenelon for this important office, procured a very remarkable teſtimony of his virtue and impartiality, as

it was given by that very M. Boſſuet, who was afterwards his proſecutor. *Yeſterday, Madam, I was wholly employed upon the happineſs of the church and ſtate; to-day I have had leiſure to reflect with more attention upon your joy; which has given me a very ſenſible pleaſure. Your father, my very good and deſerving friend, was recalled to my mind. I repreſented to myſelf how pleaſed he muſt be upon this occaſion, in ſeeing the luſtre of a virtue ſhine forth, which had concealed itſelf with ſo much care.*--- This letter was written by the Biſhop to the March. de la Laval, the daughter of that uncle of the Abbé de Fenelon's we have already mentioned already. It was dated at Germigny, the country houſe of the biſhops of Meaux, on the 9th of Aug. 1689.

The Abbé de Fenelon immediately entered upon his office of preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, the eldeſt of the Princes he was appointed to inſtruct. No education had ever produced

produced ſo good an effect. France was juſt ready to reap the fruits of it, when an untimely death carried off the Prince, whom ſuch an inſtruction, as had been hitherto without example in a royal palace, had ſo happily formed for the felicity of the people. The large compaſs which the Abbé de Fenelon had taken into this inſtruction, led him to draw up thoſe valuable pieces which are now left of him, and which one may always read without ever being weary. Wiſdom there aſſumes all forms, in order to engage the heart of a young Prince to the purſuit of virtue. It lays ſucceſſively before his eyes every particular of moment, that is ſupplied either by philoſophy, the ſtudy of nature and its wonders, hiſtory, the poets or fable, and the different characters of the moſt renowned perſons both among the antients and moderns. And at the ſame time, as he thus inſtructs him in all that he ought to know,. the incomparable maſter conſtantly directs the heart of his

pupil to the love of a virtue, which refers all to the deity. With Telemachus, to uſe the expreſſions of the approbation of the moſt extraordinary of theſe compoſitions, *we learn an inviolable attachment to religion, both in proſperity and adverſity; to love our parents and our country; to be kings, citizens, friends, or even ſlaves, if fate will have it ſo.—Too happy the nation, for whom this work may ſome day form a Telemachus and a Mentor!* Mentor, and the Prince, whom he had made a Telemachus, were then no more, when the approbator of the work expreſſed himſelf thus.

A Mentor could not live in the midſt of a court, without being a ſpectacle there. The Abbé de Fenelon even became a favourite, but his favour was of an extraordinary nature. He was a favourite who never aſked any thing either for himſelf, or for any of his friends. He made no other uſe of his credit, than to eradicate the notions which the corrupters of kings inſtil into

into them of their grandeur and their power. Six years had paſſed in this high favour, without his being thought of in the diſtributions which were daily made of eccleſiaſtical benefits. And indeed it is not eaſy, that any perſon ſhould be thought of in ſuch diſtributions, who takes no pains to puſh himſelf forwards, and joins practice with the precepts of a ſtrict diſintereſtedneſs. The King however thought of him at laſt, and gave him a conſiderable abbey; and ſoon after nominated him to the archbiſhoprick of Cambray. The Abbé de Fenelon did not conſent to accept of his great poſt, until after the King had told him, that as the courſe of education was near at an end, the deſerving perſons he had under him might ſupply his abſence. Upon this he yielded to the King's pleaſure, and gave back into his hands at the ſame time the abbey, which had been given him ſome months before. The King ſeemed much ſurprized at it; he had not been accuſtomed to find

ſuch a degree of diſintereſtedneſs in his court; but the example was no other in the eyes of the perſon who gave it, than a common action, which did not deſerve the commendation it received. A nephew, for whom he had a very great affection, and who is now the biſhop of Xaintes, and another *Abbé, a friend whom he dearly loved, were the only two that were under him about the Princes. He took no pains to recommend either of them to the abbey he had quitted. They had both of them the ſame principles with himſelf, in being willing to leave all to the diſpoſition of providence, without any intermixture of human induſtry. Three years after they became victims to their attachment for him, were driven from court, deprived of the ſalaries annexed to their employment, without any benefice, or other advantage, in having attended nine years upon the Princes of France, except the honour

* M. l'Abbé de Langeron.

honour of having been employed in their education; ſo ſtrictly careful was he who could ſo eaſily have provided for them, during a favour which laſted ſo many years, to aſk nothing either for himſelf, or for the perſons that were deareſt to him.

So pure a virtue was not to want the trial of adverſity. The new archbiſhop found himſelf inſenſibly involved in the perſecution which was revived againſt a lady, whoſe prayer was brought under ſuſpicion, and who had before been in trouble upon that account. A life of the greateſt purity, the conſtant practice of every virtue from her infancy, and the moſt holy exerciſes of devotion, were not able to ſecure Madam Guion from the malice of thoſe who declared againſt her. The little enlargement we are obliged to give here upon the ſtory of this lady, will not appear miſplaced in an account which has no other object than the life of the Archbiſhop of Cambray. It would not be ſufficient, in ſhort, for a

man like him, the excellence of whoſe morals, in a time of the hotteſt perſecution, his greateſt enemies never ventured to call in queſtion. It would not be enough, that thoſe who have been moſt tranſported with fury againſt him in their moſt bitter invectives, ſhould find themſelves obliged, to prevent the indignation of the publick, to acknowledge, as they ſtill do to this day, that in this reſpect he was always free from the leaſt reproach. Neither would his memory be [illegible]tified, if Madam Guion herſelf had given the leaſt cauſe to doubt of the conſtant regularity of her conduct, if ſhe had written nothing but extravagancies, and had no other merit than of ſubmitting to confeſs her errors, if in reality ſhe had maintained any. It would always be an unpardonable weakneſs in an archbiſhop to have eſteemed and ſuffered his beſt friends to have confided in a perſon of a ſuſpicious conduct, and in whom nought elſe was to be ſeen but fanaticiſm. We ſhould then

be

be obliged to own frankly, that his veneration for her had been a blemiſh in his life. It is therefore requiſite, that the publick ſhould find here at leaſt ſomething, whereby to form an idea of that lady's character, of the elevation of her ſoul, of the true ſprings of the clamour that was raiſed againſt her, and of the purity of her life, which was confirmed to the laſt by the teſtimonies and confeſſions of thoſe who had taken the moſt pains to prove her guilty. Such as are deſirous to make a more particular enquiry into this affair, need only conſult the writings of thoſe times; not excepting even thoſe, which M. Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, publiſhed under the odious title of *A relation concerning Quietiſm, &c.* of *Remarks, &c.* provided the anſwers are compared with them, and the prelate confronted with the different manners, in which he has both thought and expreſſed himſelf concerning that lady, at different conjunctures. It is by this compariſon, added to what has been

ſaid upon this ſubject, in the life of Madam Guion, written by herſelf, that we may be able to obtain a thorough knowledge of the affair, and ſhew on which ſide truth and candour are moſt to be found.

The rage againſt this lady was furiouſly increaſed, when certain perſons of diſtinction about the court, were found to place their confidence in her. The ſudden change of life in theſe perſons, who before had been very converſant in the world, appeared to the directors, who were alarmed with the good they did not do, to be no other than the effect of being dangerouſly ſeduced.

The clamour was already begun, when the Abbé de Fenelon was nominated to the archbiſhoprick of Cambray. He was brought acquainted with this lady. The natural prejudice againſt an extraordinary woman, who was become already ſuſpected and perſecuted upon that ſcore, was changed into a ſingular veneration for her, as ſoon as he had examined

examined her, and converſed with her himſelf. It was a ſurprizing ſight to the court, to ſee the archbiſhop indirectly attacked, and tottering in the king's favour, by an attempt to reflect upon him the furious zeal which was expreſſed againſt a perſon, whom he did not diſown, he had very much eſteemed, and ſtill continued to eſteem. And yet he never undertook to defend her, but contented himſelf with conſtantly refuſing to join with thoſe, who from the condemnation they had made of ſome of her writings proceeded to the moſt violent perſecution of her perſon. When they preſſed him to act farther againſt her, he made anſwer, that the errors they imputed to Madam Guion, could not be excuſed by the ignorance of her ſex; that what they had charged her with teaching would have raiſed an horror in the groſſeſt villager; that the imputation did not only relate to certain expreſſions of which ſhe had not perceived the conſequences, but amounted to a diabolical deſign, which accord-

according to her accuſers, was the ſoul of all that ſhe had written; that he had often ſeen her, as all the world knew; that he had eſteemed her, and ſuffered her to enjoy the eſteem of ſeveral eminent perſons, whoſe reputation was dear to the church, and who confided in him; that though he had not thoroughly read at that time all her writings, yet he neither could, nor ought to be wholly ignorant of them; that he had known enough to think it his duty to examine her very ſtrictly; that he had often done it, at a time when, having nothing to fear, ſhe was more open with him, more free, and more diſpoſed to expreſs her natural ſentiments; that he had obliged her to explain what ſhe thought upon the matter in debate; he had required her to explain the meaning of every one of the myſtical terms ſhe had uſed in her writings; and that he had always found the ſenſe in which ſhe underſtood them to be very innocent, and very catholick; that he had very narrowly obſerved

ſerved her practice, and the counſels ſhe gave to the moſt ignorant and unwary perſons, and had never diſcovered the leaſt footſteps of the helliſh maxims that were aſcribed to her. And how could he in conſcience charge her with them, by authorizing, with an approbation, the defamations that were publiſhed againſt her? He owned that he did not comprehend the conduct of M. Boſſuet. On the one hand, this prelate was inflamed with indignation, if the impious ſyſtem which he imputed to Madam Guion was ever ſo little called in queſtion; on the other, he ſeemed himſelf to have thought very differently of her. This lady had freely ſubmitted herſelf to a precedeing examination, which, on her part, had been quite voluntary. During the courſe of this examination, the biſhop had written him a long letter, wherein he had pointed out to him his objections to her prayer and experiences, minutely mentioning the ſeveral particulars

culars which offended him in her writeings, for ſhe had put all of them into his hands without the leaſt reſerve; and at the ſame time acknowledging, *That he could not diſown, that he diſcerned ſomething in her which very much affected him; and this was* (he ſaid) *that inſatiable deſire of croſſes and reproaches, and the choice that God made for her of certain humiliations and ſufferings, wherein his finger and his will ſeemed to be expreſſed.* Is it uſual to write thus of a perſon, whoſe writings after a thorough examination ſhould have no other tendency than to promore irregularity, and the moſt extravagant fanaticiſm? For it was this that M. de Meaux pretended afterwards to diſcover in them, when he attempted to reproach M. de Cambray with the monſtrous errors he imputed to his friend. During this examination of pure confidence, he had made extracts out of the MSS. which Madam Guion had put into his hands with ſo little

reſerve

reſerve, and eſpecially out of the account of her life *, which ſhe had written out of pure obedience, and wherein her moſt ſecret diſpoſitions were related with great ingenuity. Theſe were the very extracts, which M. de Meaux had kept in his hands, and which in the heat of the diſpute he was afterwards led to make uſe of by giving them odious and ridiculous turns, which without doubt he had not ſeen, *when he diſcerned ſomething in the lady that very much affected him.* The caſe was the ſame with the journies ſhe had undertook. She returned from them in 1686. In the firſt perſecution raiſed againſt her, and which was ſoon after her return to Paris, ſhe was taken into cuſtody, and afterwards ſet at liberty in 1688, by the king's order, when informed

* It was not till long afterwards, and only ſince the death of Madam Guion, which was in 1717, thirteen years after the deceaſe of M. Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux, that this Life, written by herſelf, was made publick by an impreſſion. What goes beyond the account of her firſt confinement, and her diſcharge from it in 1688, is a continuation of what M. de Meaux had in his hands.

informed of her innocence. The affair had been publick. This detention, the artifices made uſe of to bring it upon her, the journies which had preceded it, their motives, the great number of ſouls which had been drawn over to piety through her means, and what ſhe was to ſuffer from men; all this was deſcribed at large, in the MS. of her life, which ſhe had put into the hands of M. de Meaux, and which he had read when he wrote the letter to him, wherein he told him, that *he could not diſown but that he diſcerned ſomething in her which very much affected him.* This letter was written in March 1694, that is, ſeveral years after her return from all her travels, and her firſt perſecution which was over in 1688. It was ſix years after all this, that M. Boſſuet acknowledged *the expreſs finger of God* in all that ſhe had to ſuffer, *and the choice that he made of certain croſſes and humiliations for her*; and that he diſcerned nothing more in thoſe croſſes and humiliations *than the inſatiable deſire ſhe had*

had of them, wherewith he was edified. At the ſame time he had given her the communion with his own hand, and had allowed her the daily uſe of the ſacraments, in his own dioceſe. Laſtly, it was after having detained her ſix months at Meaux, whither ſhe had voluntarily retired, in order to undergo a more ſtrict examination, that he ſuffered her to depart thence with a full atteſtation, bearing date in the month of July 1695, without requiring any act from her, whereby ſhe formally retracted any error whatſoever. In this atteſtation the biſhop ſaid, that *he had continued her in the participation of the ſacraments, wherein he had found her*; declaring, *that he had not found her in any ſort involved in the abominations of Molinos, or any other condemned opinions, and that he had not meant to imply it in the mention he had made thereof in his ordinance of the 16th of April* 1695. This ordinance, which he recalled, was that which contained the condemnation of two ſmall books of Madam Guion's, that

that were the only ones then printed. M. Boſſuet had required of her an act of ſubmiſſion to this cenſure; he had even dictated the terms of it to her, and made her ſay, that *ſhe had never maintained any of the errors mentioned in the ſaid paſtoral letter, having always intended to write in a catholick ſenſe, not imagining then that any other could have been put upon her words.* The ſuperior of the monaſtery of Meaux, had on her ſide likewiſe given her another atteſtation, ſigned by herſelf and the principal perſons of her community, wherein they certified, that *Madam Guion having reſided ſix months in their houſe, by the order and permiſſion of the Biſhop of Meaux, their illuſtrious prelate and lord, ſhe had not given them the leaſt pain or trouble during her reſidence there, but very conſiderable edification—as they had obſerved in all her conduct, and in all her words, great regularity, ſimplicity, ſincerity, humility, mortification, Chriſtian patience and gentleneſs, with a true de-*

votion

votion and regard for every thing that is of faith,—and that if the ſaid lady was diſpoſed to make choice of their houſe wherein to ſpend the reſt of her days in retirement, their community ſhould eſteem it as a favour and ſatisfaction *. This atteſta-

* There are here ſuppreſſed only a few lines of the atteſtation, which are of no importance to the ſubject it treats of. F. Dom Touſſaints du Pleſſis, a Benedictin, has given it entire in his Hiſtory of the Church of Meaux, printed at Paris in 1731, where it may be ſeen. He has been equally juſt as to the other atteſtation given by M. Boſſuet himſelf, as alſo in freely owning, that this prelate, going immediately after to Verſailles, ſeemed to repent of his having given in, and tried in vain, ſome few days after, to get it back into his hands, and ſubſtitute a different one in the room of it. Certain writers, who value not their being unfaithful when it is their buſineſs to impoſe, and who have been fully ſenſible of the weight of this circumſtance related by the writer of the Hiſtory of Meaux, have endeavoured to give a different turn to it, and indirectly to deſtroy the known truth of the fact, in a printed piece, which they have diſperſed as the genuine text of the journal of a man, who had been dead twenty years before; wherein they have ſo diſpoſed what we have here related concerning theſe two attteſtations, that any one who ſhould read it without miſtruſting their deſigns to diſguiſe the truth, would be apt to believe, that the ſecond atteſtation, which M. de Meaux attempted to ſubſtitute in the place of the other, had been given before it, and upon another occaſion.

We

atteſtation, like that of the biſhop's, was drawn up in the month of July 1695, and differs only in the date of a few days.

This was what paſſed at Meaux after upwards of a year's examination, and eight years after Madam Guion's return from all her travels, which were ſo well known to M. Boſſuet. Whence comes it, ſaid the Archbiſhop of Cambray, that ſo great remiſſneſs preceded ſo much rigour? For his own part, he had never found any other than a candid and docible diſpoſition in the lady, ſo as to be always ready to ſubmit to others the judgment of her own experiences,

We muſt not therefore be ſurprized, that the Benedictin's candour in this point, as alſo in ſome other paſſages, has been judged inſupportable by men of this character; notwithſtanding that in other Places he has thought fit to make M. Boſſuet the principal hero of his hiſtory, and upon this principle to ſoften abundance of particulars relating to the difference between him and the Archbiſhop of Cambray, and to paſs over others in ſilence. This conduct could not ſecure him from the rage of theſe people, who have fallen furiouſly upon him, becauſe the reſpect he bore to truth had prevailed on him not to be over-partial in the account he gave of this famous quarrel.

riences, and even to condemn them if diſapproved by them; for which reaſon he could not in conſcience join with her accuſers. He farther added, "the "Biſhops who condemn her, have done "it by writings which they have pub- "liſhed; they have ſince confined her, "and loaded her with ignominy; I have "never ſaid one ſingle word either to "juſtify or excuſe her, or to alleviate her "preſent condition; and is not that go- "ing a great way, conſidering all that "I know? The leaſt I can do to an un- "fortunate perſon, whoſe converſation "was always edifying to me, is to keep "ſilence whilſt others condemn her." But this ſilence was not ſufficient for thoſe who wanted of him a publick approbation, which might ſerve to juſtify their cenſures againſt her writings, and their ſeverity towards her perſon. His conſtant refuſal provoked them, and became an occaſion of their falling upon himſelf. It was already ſeen, by their manner of proceeding againſt Madam Guion, that he was rather the object

they

they aimed at than herſelf. To ſtop the mouths of all who ſought to render him ſuſpected of illuſion, he determined to publiſh a book, wherein, without taking any notice as before of what concerned Madam Guion, he applied himſelf ſolely to diſtinguiſh the true ſpirituality from the falſe. The publication of this book, wherein the author laid open his ſentiments very clearly, cut off all pretext of including him in an affair, with which he could have nothing farther to do, unleſs there were ſome objections to be made to his book. And this chanced to be the caſe. All the expreſſions in it were hardly interpreted, that they might have ſomething to find fault with. The inclination of mankind, who are always diſpoſed to grow tired of a virtue incapable of ſwerving from the truth, was favourable to thoſe who imputed dangerous ſentiments to the preceptor of the Princes of France. The King ſaw a Biſhop of the age and reputation of M. Boſſuet in the poſture of a penitent begging

begging pardon of him for not having ſooner acquainted him with the fanaticiſm of his brother Biſhop. The non-compliance of the accuſed Archbiſhop, who refuſed to abandon his book, was repreſented as a proof of his obſtinacy in the errors they imputed to him. Upon which he was diſgraced. They could not, however, refuſe him the liberty of appealing to the judgment of the Pope his ſuperior. But at the ſame time he received orders to retire from court, from whence he departed, never more to return. "Be "under no concern about me," ſays he, in a letter to one of his friends, "the affair of my book is carried to "Rome. If I am miſtaken, the au- "thority of the holy ſee will unde- "ceive me, which is what I ſeek for, "with an humble and reſigned heart. "If I have expreſſed myſelf amiſs, they "will correct my expreſſions. ------ If "the Pope condemns my book, if it "ſo pleaſe God, I will be the firſt to "condemn it, and to iſſue out an edict

" to forbid the reading of it.----I am
" going to Cambray, having ſacrificed
" to God, from the bottom of my
" heart, all that I am capable of ſacri-
" ficing to him. Permit me to exhort
" you to enter into the ſame ſpirit.
" Nothing worldly or temporal has had
" any ſhare in what I have done for
" the doctrine I have judged to be
" true; nor have I omitted to lay be-
" fore the Pope any of the reaſons,
" which may ſupport that doctrine.
" Enough has been done on my part;
" it belongs to God to do the reſt, if
" it is his cauſe that I have defended.
" Let us neither regard the deſigns of
" men, nor the ſteps they take; it is
" God alone that we ſhould look up
" to in all this. Let us be the children
" of peace, and peace will reſt upon
" us; if it be bitter, it will be only
" the more pure. Let us not marr the
" uprightneſs of our intentions by
" any obſtinacy, any paſſionate warmth,
" any human induſtry, any over-ear-
" neſt deſire to juſtify ourſelves. Only

" let

" let us give an account of our faith,
" let us correct ourſelves if we have
" need of it, and let us bear correction
" patiently, even tho' we ſhould not
" deſerve it. As to you, Sir, your part
" in the affair is ſilence, ſubmiſſion,
" and prayer. Pray for me, upon ſo
" preſſing an occaſion. Pray for the
" Church, which ſuffers theſe ſcandals.
" Perfection is become ſuſpected; ſo
" much was not required to divert remiſs
" and conceited Chriſtians from it. Diſ-
" intereſted love ſeems a ſource of illu-
" ſion and abominable impiety. Chri-
" ſtians, under a pretext of ſecurity
" and caution, have been accuſtomed
" to ſeek God only through motives
" of ſelf-intereſt and happineſs. Souls,
" which have made the greateſt pro-
" ficiencies, are forbidden to ſerve God
" through the motive, by which it has
" hitherto been wiſhed, that even ſin-
" ners ſhould return from their wick-
" ed ways, I mean, the goodneſs of
" God infinitely amiable. I know the
" terms of *pure love* and *abandoning* are

" abuſed; I know that hypocrites, un-
" der ſuch ſpecious names, ſubvert the
" Goſpel. But pure love is, notwith-
" ſtanding, no leſs the perfection of
" Chriſtianity; and it is the worſt re-
" medy that can be, to endeavour to
" aboliſh what is perfect, only to hin-
" der it from being abuſed. God can
" better provide in this caſe, than men.
" Let us humble ourſelves, and keep
" ſilence; and inſtead of reaſoning up-
" on prayer, let us take care that we
" pray. It is thus that we defend our-
" ſelves; it is in ſilence that our ſtrength
" will lie."

With ſuch diſpoſitions M. de Cambray thought only of waiting peaceably for the judgment of Rome upon his book; but thoſe who had begun to proſecute him, did not judge it convenient to act in the ſame manner. He found himſelf violently attacked by three biſhops at once, who were the ſame that had publiſhed their cenſures upon the ſmall printed books of Madam Guion. The attack was too violent

olent to allow him to keep ſilence; it was a duty owing to himſelf, owing to the defence of his cauſe at Rome, not to countenance the reproaches of his adverſaries by his ſilence. But he conſtantly confined himſelf to a defence abounding with moderation, and to ſuch explications of his ſentiments, as juſtified his doctrine.

M. Boſſuet had ſuffered himſelf to be carried ſo far in the heat of the diſpute, that he ſaw himſelf abandoned in an eſſential point by almoſt all the divines of the ſchool, and particularly by the Biſhop of Chartres himſelf, tho' otherwiſe united in intereſt with him in this quarrel. They found that M. Boſſuet, in order the better to eſtabliſh hope, had deſtroyed charity. M. de Cambray was adviſed to make a diverſion, by attacking the books of his principal adverſary at Rome, as the latter had fallen upon his. The pious Archbiſhop made anſwer, that he had wrote his book merely out of the neceſſity they had laid him under of di-

ſtinguiſhing the true ſpirituality from the falſe, and to ſhew how far he was, by defending the one, from countenancing the other; but that he too much lamented the ſcandal of the diſpute under which the church groaned, to have any inclination to perpetuate it by recriminating againſt his brother.

In the mean time, the writings both for and againſt the book of the Maxims were multiplied. Thoſe of the Archbiſhop were ſo drawn up, as to make his adverſaries repent that they had laid him under a neceſſity of publiſhing his defences. They did him, by this means, contrary to their expectation, a conſiderable ſervice. We ſhall ſee, in the following letter, of the month of May 1698, the anſwer he gave to M. Briſacier of the foreign miſſions, who had wrote to him after the publication of the firſt of his defences, in aggravation of the extremities to which the matter was reduced by them.

" Sir,

" Sir, It was unwillingly, and under
" extreme neceſſity, that I wrote to
" defend my faith, when violently at-
" tacked. I delayed the Affair at Rome
" for two months, refuſing conſtantly
" to print my defences, and ſatisfying
" myſelf with ſending them thither in
" manuſcript. At laſt I was informed,
" that it was uſual at the tribunal of
" the Holy Office, to print the pro-
" ductions; that my manuſcripts could
" be neither ſo legible, nor ſo correct,
" as the judgment in ſo nice and im-
" portant an affair required; that they
" muſt be in the hands of a great num-
" ber of people, and communicated to
" my adverſaries; and that thus it
" would be impoſſible to keep them
" ſecret; and that, laſtly, my anſwers
" ought to be as publick as the accu-
" ſations. I then yielded to the neceſ-
" ſity of printing them; but I was ſo
" averſe to expoſe this ſcene to the
" publick, that my printed tracts were
" ſent to Rome above ſix weeks before
" I could reſolve to publiſh them in

" France. When they were publiſhed
" at Rome, and I found that my ad-
" verſaries poſted up and diſperſed their
" performances againſt me in every part
" of my dioceſe, I thought it then my
" duty not to be reſerved in my own
" vindication, nor to ſuffer myſelf to
" be defamed in the midſt of my own
" flock.

" As to the manner in which I have
" wrote them, I may be miſtaken, and
" herein ſubmit to the reader's judg-
" ment; but as, in my own opi-
" nion, I was neither influenced by
" paſſion or reſentment, whilſt I was
" writing them, ſo I think I have not
" expreſſed any indecent warmth in a-
" ny of them. I took great care to ſup-
" preſs whatever did not appear to me
" eſſential to my caſe. I have behaved
" reſpectfully to the perſons who have
" treated me otherwiſe; but I could
" not avoid taking notice of ſome par-
" ticulars, which, againſt my inclina-
" tion, reflected upon them, as they were
" matters of importance, either to the

" doctrine,

" doctrine, or to the trial. If there is
" any paſſage, wherein my cauſe is
" not concerned, and which offends
" againſt either truth or charity, or the
" reſpect which is due to my brethren,
" I will make them a publick repara-
" tion, without requiring the like from
" them, tho' manifeſtly due to me, for
" the injurious and abuſive treatment
" they have given me in their write-
" ings.

" Let but any one compare, with-
" out prejudice, their words with mine.
" Their expreſſions are all artful, haugh-
" ty, and inſulting; their very writings,
" which they would have paſs for mild
" ones, are full of ingenious turns to
" blacken me, under a ſhew of civility
" towards me. For my part, I have
" confined myſelf to expoſe their ſo-
" phiſtry; to reſtore the text of my
" book, which they have miſquoted,
" and to refute the tenets, which de-
" ſtroy charity, which confound the
" order of nature with that of grace,
" and which overthrow all medium

" between ſupernatural virtues and vi-
" cious concupiſcence. All the lovers
" of ſound doctrine, who dread novel-
" ties, have reaſon to be pleaſed with
" me, for having oppoſed ſo dangerous
" a conſpiracy againſt the whole ſchool.
" Laſtly, I have ſhewn, that my ad-
" verſaries have clearly underſtood, that
" the intereſt which a man has in be-
" ing ſaved is very different from the
" ſalvation itſelf; and that they have
" approved in other authors, what they
" would have accounted impious in
" my book. And now, Sir, are not
" all theſe particulars eſſential to my
" defence? Ought I to ſuppreſs them,
" for fear of opening the eyes of the
" publick in what concerns the con-
" duct of my brethren? Ought I to
" conceal the wrongs they have done
" me, and ſuffer myſelf to be defamed
" as a ſecond Molinos, who is a plain
" teacher of blaſphemies? Had I not
" frequently declared, that they would
" at laſt compel me to vindicate my-
" ſelf in a manner which would retort

" back

" back upon my adverſaries? Did
" they vouchſafe to liſten to me? Have
" they not taken pains to carry matters
" to extravagant lengths, in order to
" render all accommodation impoſſible?
" Have they not taken my patience for
" a weakneſs without reſource? Have
" they not reduced me to ſuch a ſtate,
" that I could not have vindicated my-
" ſelf from horrible impiety, and an in-
" excuſable deſpair, unleſs I had laid
" open the injuſtice of the accuſation
" in the face of the whole church?
" Was it right, to throw me into theſe
" extremities againſt my own inclina-
" tion, and then complain of them as
" tho' they had no ſhare in them?
" Any other Perſon but myſelf, I dare
" venture to ſay, Sir, would demand
" a cenſure to be paſſed on M. de
" Meaux's books, and a publick repa-
" ration for the grievous accuſations
" they have groundleſly brought againſt
" me? The leſs I demand ſuch a re-
" paration, the more it is due to the
" Church from my brethren. For my-
" ſelf

" ſelf, I go no farther than to juſtify
" my belief, and they muſt blame
" themſelves for having reduced me
" to ſuch a condition, that I cannot
" prove myſelf not to be impious, but
" by proving the odiouſneſs of their
" proceedings againſt me. If the truth
" ſimply told, in its natural force, when
" delivered with mildneſs, with reſpect,
" and under the moſt preſſing neceſſity
" that ever a biſhop was laid, ſhall
" offend the nice ears of thoſe who have
" plainly laid him under that neceſſity,
" what can be ſaid to them?

" When they ſhall be diſpoſed to
" keep ſilence, I ſhall alſo gladly keep
" it; for in the midſt of theſe wordy
" wars, I breathe nought but peace,
" and a concluſion of the ſcandal. But
" the more they write, the more ob-
" liged I ſhall be to prove clearly their
" injurious treatment, which I could
" wiſh it were in my power to conceal.
" If, after having wrote ſo much, they
" can only repeat what has been al-
" ready ſaid, they will do no harm to

" their

" their cauſe by being ſilent hereafter.
" According to rule, Sir, as you know,
" the accuſers who have been the firſt
" to ſpeak, ſhould be alſo the firſt to
" hold their tongues. If, on the other
" hand, they have any new proofs to
" urge, or any new turns to give to
" the old ones they have already pro-
" duced, it is but juſt, that I ſhould
" be allowed time to make a reply to
" them. The accuſed ought to ſpeak
" laſt, eſpecially when he is a Biſhop,
" whom they would convict of impi-
" ety in the face of the whole church.
" It may be ſeen by the diſpatch, where-
" with I have already anſwered the
" principal points in the laſt volume of
" M. de Meaux, how little diſpoſed I
" am, either to perplex the queſtion,
" or prolong the diſpute. I hope, by
" God's aſſiſtance, that my adverſaries
" will advance nothing ſo ſpecious, ei-
" ther in point of doctrine or fact, as
" not to be confuted by me upon very
" good reaſons. For my part, what-
" ever happens, I more than ever ſub-

" mit

" mit all my works to the holy ſee,
" with a docility without reſerve, and
" without diſtinction of fact and right.
" I wiſh thoſe who have wrote againſt
" me were as ſubmiſſive, and as tract-
" able, with reſpect to the tenets which
" they have advanced. Judge, Sir, by
" the freedom wherewith I anſwer you,
" how much I honour you, and with
" what reſpect I receive your advice
" concerning the temper and patience
" I ſtand in need of. Pray to God, that
" he would grant them me, I beg of
" you, and Monſ. Tiberge, to whom
" I ſend my reſpects, and believe me
" to be, with the ſincereſt regard, *&c.*"

The affair laſted near two years at Rome. His adverſaries were ſupported with all the credit, that their ſituation in France could give them. And they made uſe of it with ſo much the leſs reſerve, as they were provoked to ſee the Archbiſhop, though in diſgrace, make no abatement of his reſolution in the defence of his cauſe; that not only the publick was inclined to favour the perſe-

perſecuted ſide, but that there were alſo divided ſentiments at Rome concerning the book they had ſo highly traduced. Of ten examiners, that were choſen to deliberate concerning it, there were five who declared in favour of it; and amongſt theſe ſome perſons of the greateſt character and diſtinction, who have been ſince honoured with the purple[a]. They had then recourſe to a blow, which was judged neceſſary to let them ſee at Rome, how much the court of France, which openly ſollicited the condemnation of the book, had the affair at heart. They prevailed on the King to diſmiſs the Abbé de Beaumont, the Archbiſhop of Cambray's nephew[b], the Abbé de Langeron, his very

a Rodolvich, Archbiſhop of Chieti, and father Gabrielis, a monk of the order of S. Bernard, and whoſe name is ſometimes written Gabriellio, were of the number of thoſe five conſulters, who in the congregations conſtantly perſiſted in defending the book and the propoſitions which had been extracted from it. They were both ſince made Cardinals.

b His ſiſter's ſon. He is at preſent biſhop of Xaintes.

very old friend, and Meſſ. Du Puy and De l'Echelle, whoſe attachment to him had remained firm notwithſtanding his diſgrace and the danger of their being involved in it, from their attendance on the Princes his grandchildren. They diſpoſed of the Archbiſhop's apartment at Verſailles, which till this time had not been done; and both himſelf, and thoſe who were diſmiſſed upon this occaſion, were ſtruck off from the ſtate-liſt, and denied the ſalaries which were uſually given to ſuch perſons during life, as had been honoured with any ſhare in the education of the Princes of France. The ſame treatment would have farther extended to ſome others of the moſt valuable perſons about the court, if the ſolicitors of this affair had found credit enough to have carried it to the utmoſt lengths that they deſired. Nothing can enable us to form a better judgment of the temper which the Archbiſhop of Cambray maintained in the midſt of ſo violent a ſtorm, than the following letter, which

which he wrote to the Duke of Beauvilliers, at the time when it raged moſt furiouſly againſt him.

" I cannot avoid telling you, my " good Duke, what I have at my heart. " Yeſterday I ſpent the day, which " was the feaſt of St. Lewis, in devo- " tion and prayer for the King. If " my prayers were good, he will be " ſenſible of it, for I prayed very hear- " tily. I did not aſk for him any tem- " poral proſperity; for of that he has " enough. I only begged that he might " make a good uſe of it, and that, " amidſt ſuch great ſucceſs, he might " be as humble, as tho' he had un- " dergone ſome deep humiliation. I " wiſhed he might be not only the fa- " ther of his people, but withal the " arbiter of his neighbours, the mode- " rator of all Europe, ſo as to ſecure the " tranquillity of it, and laſtly, the pro- " tector of the church. I begged that " he might not only go on to fear God " and reſpect religion, but that he might " alſo love God, and feel how eaſy

" and

" and light his yoke is to thoſe who
" bear it leſs through fear than love.
" I never found in myſelf a greater
" degree of zeal, or, if I may venture
" to uſe the expreſſion, of affection to
" his perſon. Though I am full of ac-
" knowledgment, it was not the good
" he has done me that then moved
" me. Far from being under any un-
" eaſineſs at my preſent ſituation, I
" would have offered myſelf with joy
" to God, to merit the ſanctification
" of the King. I even conſidered his
" zeal againſt my book as a commen-
" dable effect of his religion, and his
" juſt abhorrence of whatever has to
" him the appearance of novelty. I
" looked upon him as an object deſer-
" ving of the favour of God. I called
" to mind his education without ſolid
" inſtruction, the flatteries which have
" ſurrounded him, the ſnares laid for
" him in his youth, the profane coun-
" ſels that were given him, the diſtruſt
" that was with ſo much pains inſtilled
" into him againſt the exceſſes of cer-
" tain

" tain profeſſors of devotion, and the
" artifice of others; and laſtly, the pe-
" rils of greatneſs, and ſuch a multi-
" plicity of nice affairs. I own, that
" with all theſe things in view, not-
" withſtanding the great reſpect that is
" due to him, I had great compaſ-
" ſion for a ſoul ſo much expoſed. I
" judged his caſe deſerved to be la-
" mented, and I wiſhed him a more
" plentiful degree of mercy to ſupport
" him in ſo formidable a ſtate of proſ-
" perity. I heartily prayed S. Lewis
" to obtain for his grandſon the grace
" to imitate his virtues. I repreſented
" his majeſty to myſelf, as humble,
" conſiderate, weaned from all earthly
" enjoyments, thoroughly poſſeſſed with
" the love of God, and placing his
" conſolation in the hope of a glory
" and crown infinitely more deſirable
" than his own; in a word, I repreſented
" him to myſelf as another St. Lewis.
" In all this I had not, as I appre-
" hend, the leaſt intereſted view; for
" I was diſpoſed to remain all my life
deprived

" deprived of the comfort of seeing his
" majesty in this state, provided he
" was in it. I would have consented
" to a perpetual disgrace, provided I
" knew that the King was entirely af-
" ter God's own heart. I only desire
" he may have solid virtues, and such
" as are suitable to the duties of his
" station. Thus, my good duke, I
" yesterday employed my festival. I
" prayed also most heartily for our
" young prince, for whose salvation I
" would give up my life with joy.
" Lastly, I prayed for the principal
" persons who are about the King,
" and wished you all the renewal of
" grace in the difficult times wherein
" you live. For my own part, I am
" at peace, in the midst of almost
" continual sufferings. By casting scan-
" dal upon me, they shall not, by
" God's will, exasperate me, neither
" shall they discourage me; they will
" not make me an heretick, by saying
" that I am one. I have a greater ab-
" horrence of novelty, than those who
" seem

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" ſeem ſo much to ſtart at it. I am
" more firmly attached to the Church.
" I thank God, I breathe nothing but
" ſincerity, and ſubmiſſion without re-
" ſerve. After laying my reaſons before
" the pope, my conſcience will be diſ-
" charged, and I ſhall have nothing
" more to do than to be ſilent and obey.
" They ſhall never ſee me, as ſome
" others have done, ſeek for diſtinctio-
" ons to elude the cenſures of Rome.
" There would have been no occaſion
" to have gone thither, if the affair
" had been carried on with that equi-
" ty, fair dealing, and Chriſtian cha-
" rity, which they owed to their bro-
" ther. I pray God to undeceive me,
" if I am under a miſtake; and if I
" am not, that he will open the eyes
" of thoſe who have confided too much
" in paſſionate perſons."

The condemnation of the book, ſo powerfully ſollicited at Rome, came at laſt; not indeed as the archbiſhop's adverſaries required, with the qualifications which Rome reſerves for the books

books ſhe finds to be heretical; but ſuch however, as made them to triumph in the humiliation of the author. He experienced upon this occaſion, how vain is the dependance upon human prudence and policy, which the pureſt virtue in time can hardly eſcape ſome ſmall degree of in a court, and which had led him ſo far to conſult his own intereſt as to decline the taking any part in the cauſe of his friend. This wiſdom did not prevent the ſtorm, which was firſt raiſed againſt her, from falling upon him, againſt whom they intended it, nor from involving him at laſt in a diſgrace which he at firſt apprehended he might have avoided. It even ſo fell out, that the little books of Madam Guion, about which the noiſe firſt was made, and which nobody undertook to defend againſt the biſhops who had cenſured them, continued in the ſtate they were, whilſt the judgment of Rome regarded only the book of the archbiſhop of Cambray. They could not however

however, prevail upon the Holy See to include the pieces he wrote in his vindication within the condemnation. They urged, in vain, that the author had himſelf declared in his defences, that if his book was underſtood according to the ſenſe which his adverſaries put upon it, and the conſequences they drew from it, it would be from beginnning to end impious, ſacrilegious, and heretical; that the not aſſigning any of thoſe qualifications to the book and propoſitions condemned, which himſelf had pronounced, and at the ſame time the not comprehending his defences in the condemnation, was viſibly charging his adverſaries with having proceeded too far in their imputations againſt him; notwithſtanding Rome perſiſted in her reſolution to pronounce no judgment againſt what the archbiſhop had urged in the courſe of the diſpute, either in his own vindication, or in the explanation of his doctrine. They even debated about terminating the conteſt only by making ca-

nons

nons, which ſhould explain what was to be held with relation to the matter conteſted. This was what the Pope was very much inclined to, with a conſiderable part of the Roman church; but upon the ſight of this project, they made ſo loud a clamour about the neceſſity of ſatisfying France, which demanded a judgment, that the deſign of ending the affair by the publication of the projected canons fell to the ground. As to the Archbiſhop, as ſoon as he knew that Rome had ſpoke, he gave himſelf wholly up to finiſh his ſacrifice by the moſt abſolute ſubmiſſion. "What you ſend me word you "have done in obedience to the Pope "by parting with my book," ſays he, in a letter to the ſame Duke de Beauvilliers his friend *, "is very edifying to "me, and by no means ſurprizing;

* This letter and the foregoing were preſerved among the papers of the late Duke de Beauvilliers, and ſent by his widow the dowager Ducheſs of Beauvilliers to the Marquis de Fenelon, who has the originals written in the Archbiſhop of Cambray's own hand writing.

"I know

" I know your attachment to a ſtrict
" obedience, nor could I expect any
" other conduct from you. You know
" very well, Sir, that I never valued
" or countenanced any piety, which has
" not this ſolid foundation. For my
" part, I endeavour to bear my croſs
" with humility and patience. By
" God's grace I remain in peace, in
" the midſt of ſorrow and bitterneſs.
" Amidſt ſo many troubles I have one
" conſolation, of little conſequence in
" the eyes of the world, but a ſolid
" comfort to thoſe who ſeek God with
" ſincerity, and that is, my conduct is
" entirely fixed, nor have I any thing
" more to deliberate upon; all that is
" left for me to do is, to ſubmit and
" be ſilent; and this is what I have
" ever deſired. My only buſineſs now
" is to ſettle the terms of my ſubmiſ-
" ſion; the ſhorteſt, the moſt ſimple,
" the moſt abſolute, and the moſt re-
" mote from all reſtriction, are ſuch
" as pleaſe me the beſt; my conſcience
" is diſcharged in that of my ſuperior.

" In all this, far from conſidering it
" as brought upon me by my adver-
" ſaries, I look not on any man; I ſee
" only the hand of God, and am con-
" tent with what he does. I am
" ſometimes tempted to ſmile at the
" apprehenſions which ſome zealous
" perſons expreſs of me, that poſſibly
" I may not be able to reſolve upon a
" ſubmiſſion. Sometimes I am impor-
" tuned with long letters of exhortati-
" on adviſing me to ſubmit, and telling
" me how glorious ſuch an humilia-
" tion will be, and what an heroic ac-
" tion I ſhall do by it. This indeed is
" ſomewhat teazing, and I am tempted
" to ſay within my ſelf, What is it then
" that I have done to theſe people,
" that they ſhould think I ſhall find ſo
" much difficulty in preferring the au-
" thority of the Holy See to my own
" weak underſtanding, and the peace
" of the church to my book? Yet I
" ſee plainly, they have reaſon to ſup-
" poſe that I have a great deal of im-
" perfection and unwillingneſs to do

" an

" an act of humiliation. And thus I
" pardon them very freely, and even
" go so far as to thank them for their
" fears and exhortations. As to diffi-
" culty, in an act of full and absolute
" submission, I must frankly own to
" you, that I find none. The act was
" drawn up the day after I received
" the news, but I thought it my duty
" to suspend the execution of it, till
" such time as I knew how to proceed
" in form. Bulls are not acknow-
" ledged in France till after they are
" passed in parliament. I know not
" whether the same form is to be ob-
" served in a brief, which contains a
" doctrinal judgment against an Arch-
" bishop. In doubt of this, I suspend
" my mandate; for no one, whatever
" they may say, is a more zealous
" Frenchman than myself. As soon
" as I know the rule, my act shall
" appear. Be pleased to take notice,
" Sir, I have not received the judgment
" of the Pope, either from Rome, or
" from the Nuncio. But indeed, I

" will not loſe a moment, as ſoon as
" I ſhall be aſſured that I do not tranſ-
" greſs the uſages of France. I have
" no conſolation but in obedience; and
" if they had known my ſentiments in
" this reſpect, they would never have
" had the vain alarms they have ſuffered
" themſelves to fall into."

" As to the Biſhop of Meaux, I own
" it is impoſſible for me to conceive how
" he could tell you, That he SHOULD
" THINK HIMSELF BLAMEABLE
" BOTH IN THE SIGHT OF GOD
" AND MAN, IF HE IN THE LEAST
" DOUBTED OF THE INTEGRITY OF
" MY HEART, AND THE SINCERI-
" TY OF MY SUBMISSION. Has he
" forgot the frightful double dealing,
" he hath ſo often charged me with in
" the face of the whole church, even
" ſo lately as in the laſt printed piece
" he publiſhed againſt me? Fifteen
" days cannot have changed me into an
" honeſt man. However, the mean-
" ing of his words is not our preſent
" buſineſs, and I leave that matter to

" be

" be ſettled between God and himſelf. " He and I now have no longer any " contention. I very ſincerely pray " for him, and wiſh him all that may " be wiſhed for thoſe whom we love " according to God." This letter was written the 29th of March 1699, and was followed on the 9th of April with the publication of the Archbiſhop's mandate *.

* The mandate was drawn up in the following terms. " We owe ourſelues to you without reſerve, my very " dear brethren, ſince we are no longer our own, " but the flocks which has been committed to us, *Nos* " *autem ſervos veſtros per Jeſum.* It is in this diſpo- " ſition, that we think ourſelves obliged here to open " our heart to you, and continue to communicate to " you what concerns us relating to the book entitled, " *The Maxims of the Saints.* In ſhort, our holy fa- " ther the Pope hath condemned this book, with the " three and twenty propoſitions extracted out of it, " by a brief bearing date the 12th of March, which " is now diſperſed abroad, and which you have al- " ready ſeen.

" We adhere to this brief, my very dear brethren, " as well with reſpect to the text of the book, as to " the 23 propoſitions, preciſely in the ſame, and with " the ſame qualifications, ſimply, abſolutely, and " without ſhadow of reſtriction. Thus we condemn " both the book and the 23 propoſitions, preciſely in " the

'Twas with an heart full of the noble simplicity, and disposition to comply without weakness, which are so visible

" the same form, and with the same qualifications,
" simply, absolutely, and without any restriction.
" Farther, we forbid, under the same penalty, all the
" faithful of this diocese, to read and keep the said
" book. We would comfort ourselves, my very dear
" brethren, in our humiliation, provided the ministry
" of the word, which we have received of the Lord
" for your sanctification, be not weakened thereby,
" and that notwithstanding the humiliation of the
" pastor, the flock may grow in grace in the sight of
" God. It is therefore with all our heart, that we
" exhort you to a sincere submission, and a compliance
" without reserve, lest you insensibly depart from the
" simplicity of obedience to the holy see, whereof
" we are desirous, by the assistance of God's grace, to
" set the example to the last moment of our life. May
" it please God, that my name may never be men-
" tioned, but with this remembrance, that a pastor
" has thought it his duty to be more compliant than
" the least sheep of his flock, and that he hath set no
" bounds to his submission. May the grace of our
" Lord Jesus Christ, my very dear brethren, the love
" of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, re-
" main with you all. Amen. Given at Cambray,
" April 9, 1699.

The assemblies of bishops in each ecclesiastical province being afterwards held for the acceptation of the brief, the King gave his letters patents for the registering of it, which was done in the parliament of Paris on the 14th of August following,

viſible in this letter, that its generous author was able, without departing from the integrity of his ſubmiſſion, to refuſe going farther than the expreſs judgment of the holy ſee, which had pronounced no ſentence againſt the books he had written in his own vindication. They determined however in France not to leave him without mortification upon that ſcore. In the provincial aſſemblies, which were held by the ſeveral Archbiſhops throughout the kingdom for the reception of the brief, there were not wanting certain biſhops, who propoſed to offer a petition to the King, that he would be pleaſed to iſſue out an order for the ſuppreſſion alſo of all that the author had written in its defence. And yet there were others, who declared that they could not approve the carrying matters ſo high againſt an Archbiſhop who deſerved nothing but commendation from them; but theſe were the ſmaller number, and the ſuppreſſion was ordered in France. The aſſembly of

the province of Cambray was not more favourable to their Archbiſhop. He ſtood in need of a reſolution like his own, and all the preſence of mind he was maſter of, to oppoſe in the aſſembly, which was held in his own palace, the ſuggeſtions that were made to turn his ſubmiſſion to the judgment of Rome into a retraction of all that he had urged in juſtification of his doctrine. One of the biſhops in the aſſembly attempted to maintain, that the judgment pronounced againſt the book of Maxims, extended to the condemnation of the pieces which had been wrote in its defence. The Archbiſhop courageouſly cauſed the reaſons to be inſerted in the report of the aſſembly, which hindered him from acknowledging that conſequence. Thus joined he reſolution with a boundleſs ſubmiſſion to the judgment of the head of the church. The ſame greatneſs of ſoul, which made him ſo firm, lead him likewiſe to yield without reſiſtance to whatever was regular. He drew up

the

the concluſion, as preſident of the aſſembly, with the ſame tranquility as if the affair had concerned another perſon. The purport of it was, that the King ſhould be deſired to order the ſuppreſſion of what he had written in his own defence. But tho' he thus diſcharged what the rules of the aſſembly required from his miniſtry againſt himſelf, he remained unmoveable as to his own ſentiments; he cauſed it to be inſerted, that in concluding for this petition he acted only as preſident according to the plurality of voices, and *contrary to his own opinion.* He declared at the ſame time, that he ſhould be as ready to give up his apologetical performances as the book itſelf, if the holy ſee found any defect in his ſubmiſſion. For ſuch was the character of the piety, that reſtrained this vaſt genius, that it bid him to cloſe his eyes upon all the glimmerings of human underſtanding, to ſeek truth only in the meanneſs, obedience, and ſimplicity of faith. This was the ſource

of that ſubmiſſion, which deſerveth only to be admired, as it giveth glory to the divine principle, from whence it ſprung. But the holy ſee, whoſe judgment was his rule, was ſo far from demanding more of him, that it found what he had already done highly deſerving of its commendation.

The year following, there was held an aſſembly of the clergy of France, wherein the province of Cambray is not included. M. Boſſuet, the biſhop of Meaux, was above minding what the publick ſhould think, when they ſaw him take pen in hand to give an account of his own quarrel, by virtue of a commiſſion granted for that purpoſe. He choſe rather to let them think what they pleaſed of a relation drawn up by the principal party himſelf, than to give up to another the office of penning the memorial which was to preſerve, in the annals of the clergy, the remembrance of an affair, wherein it was ſo much for his own reputation, that poſterity ſhould ſee it in the light which

which he put upon it. The archbiſhop of Cambray could not fail of being repreſented there as a man recovered from error to truth. M. de Meaux there diſplayed at large the ſame monſtrous opinions, which he had imputed to the Archbiſhop of Cambray during the courſe of the diſpute; as if the latter had not ſhewn a hundred times, that he had attributed to him what he had never thought. At the ſame time he termed the ſubmiſſion of his adverſary to the judgment pronounced at Rome, *a ſudden and exemplary change, which had ſurprized*, he ſaid, *the enemies of the church.* What had paſſed in the provincial aſſembly at Cambray, concerning the books written by the Archbiſhop in his own vindication, did not hinder him from ſpeaking upon that foot of a ſubmiſſion, which he found at the ſame time to be *abſolute, and without reſerve.* This was viſibly to deſtroy with one hand what he had raiſed with the other. How could the ſubmiſſion appear to

M. de

Mr. de Meaux to be *abſolute* and *without reſerve*, unleſs he tacitly owned himſelf the purity of the doctrine that was largely explained in the ſaid vindications, which the author had refuſed to cenſure as it was going beyond the judgment pronounced at Rome? But if this doctrine was pure, how blameable muſt M. Boſſuet have thought himſelf for having ſo violently oppoſed it in the courſe of the diſpute? How, laſtly, could he reconcile to himſelf the repreſenting the Archbiſhop of Cambray as ſuddenly change[illegible], and calling his ſubmiſſion *abſolute and without reſerve*, when the Archbiſhop in his provincial aſſembly perſiſted in not giving up the doctrine contained in his defences, and himſelf, the biſhop of Meaux, had always openly rejected the explications therein delivered? But M. Boſſuet was deſirous, that his own relation, inſerted in the annals of the clergy of *France*, ſhould ſerve there to canonize his conduct againſt one of his brethren, whom he had repreſented as a man unhappily

pily fallen into monſtrous errors, from whence he was to be recovered. To this end it was requiſite to repreſent him as a man who had *ſurprized the enemies of the church by a ſudden change* of principles, though he had ſo lately declared in the verbal proceſs of the provincial aſſembly, held in his own dioceſe for the reception of the brief, *that he could not acknowledge againſt his conſcience, that he had ever believed any of the errors which had been charged upon him.* It was requiſite to treat the ſubmiſſion of the Archbiſhop as an unexpected event, *which had ſurprized the enemies of the church*; though he did no more than what he had continually declared he would do, as ſoon as the Pope ſhould paſs the ſentence. It was requiſite to join together in the ſame piece the condemnation of Molinos, which had paſſed in France, upon occaſion of the little books and perſon of Madam Guion, and the miſchief which had been renewed *by an event which could not be too much deplor'd, the pub-*

publication of the book which the Archbiſhop of Cambray had ſent abroad into the world. So that, according to this relation of M. de Meaux, one would be apt to believe what thoſe, who read only what he has written, do ſtill imagine, that the whole affair was one and the ſame thing with the Quietiſm condemned in Molinos. M. Boſſuet might well be maſter of the aſſembly, to be able ſo to miſrepreſent ſuch recent facts. In the brief of condemnation paſſed at Rome there was no mention of Molinos, nor were the characters given to the book of Maxims, or to any of the propoſitions extracted from it, which could not have been ſpared, if there had been found in it any doctrine, deſerving to be fulminated as an abominable hereſy. M. de Meaux himſelf had declared five years before, as we have ſeen above in the atteſtation he had given to Madam Guion in July 1695, *that not finding her in any reſpect involved in the abominations of Molinos, or any other condemned*

demned opinions, he had not intended to comprehend her in the mention that had been made thereof by him in his ordinance of the 16th of April laſt. This atteſtation, and the other teſtimonies of eſteem, which he had given himſelf to the virtue of that lady, and which he had ſuffered to be given her under his eyes in his own epiſcopal city, were notoriouſly known. He could not therefore avoid being a little upon his guard, when he was to ſpeak of her again. *For as to the abominations which were looked upon as the conſequences of her principles, they were never queſtioned, and by her own declaration were held by her in abhorrence.* Theſe very words are to be found in the relation inſerted in the acts of the clergy of the year 1700, and concerning which we muſt always be mindful that they were penn'd by M. de Meaux. The following likewiſe are to be ſeen there concerning the firſt detention of that lady in 1688. *A certain woman had compoſed the treatiſes entitled,*

entitled, A ſhort way, *and* A myſtical interpretation of the Song of Songs. *The late Archbiſhop of Paris* (Harlay) *ſent her into a monaſtery, where there were ſome proceedings againſt her, of which now no footſteps are to be found.* From this confeſſion the concluſion is eaſy to be drawn. For, in ſhort, if any thing had reſulted from theſe proceedings, beſides an entire juſtification of Madam Guion, would they have been ſo far loſt, as not to have had the leaſt footſteps of them recoverable? They were made by the Archbiſhop's officers; and inſtead of being carried away from the archives of the Archbiſhoprick or its officiality, if any thing had appeared beſides the innocence of the perſon accuſed, it would have been the Archbiſhop's intereſt to have kept them there, to ſerve as a teſtimony againſt a lady, whom he had cauſed to be confined. When the perſecution was renewed againſt her, he would have been the firſt to publiſh a cenſure in October 1694, againſt the two

little

little books of that lady. This was what he did not, even though he had kept her confined ſix years before, and though thoſe two little books had been printed for ſome time. We cannot therefore imagine, that, with a diſlike ſo ready to revive upon the firſt occaſion, he would have ſuffered ſuch a trial to have been loſt, if any thing had occurred in it to the lady's diſadvantage. It was ſtill leſs probable that this ſhould have happened under the Pontificate which immediately followed. The new Archbiſhop had cenſured the two little books, in like manner as his predeceſſor, ſome few months only before his tranſlation from the biſhoprick of Chalons to the Archbiſhoprick of the capital. From that time Madam Guion had done nothing but paſs from one priſon to another, firſt ſhut up at Vincennes, after that in a nunnery at Vaugirard, and laſt of all in the Baſtille, when matters run high againſt M. de Cambray, and they were minded publickly to turn againſt him the ſpectacle of

of his friend confined in priſon as a criminal. In the mean time ſhe had been examined again and again, without any kind of pity, in order to find her guilty, could it poſſibly have been done. Can we imagine, that, if the proceedings againſt her during her firſt confinement in 1688 had contained any thing to her prejudice, they would not have been at leaſt recovered? It is notwithſtanding after all this, that M. Boſſuet himſelf, writing in 1700 a relation, which was to preſerve in the annals of the clergy an account of what concerned Madam Guion, is obliged to own, that the leaſt footſteps of thoſe proceedings were not left remaining; and acknowledges alſo, a few lines lower, *that as to the abominations which were looked upon as the conſequences of her principles, they were never queſtioned, and by her own declaration were held by her in abhorrence.* But could they be aſſured *of the abhorrence that ſhe ſaid ſhe held them in*, if they had never been queſtioned? It appeared farther

ther by the ſame account, by the atteſtations which M. de Meaux had given her, by divers acts which they had required of her, and wherewith they were ſatisfied, and by the preference of another's judgment to her own, which they had cauſed her to make with great ſimplicity, that ſhe had been always very ſubmiſſive in what related to her writings. Why then was ſhe impriſoned, and continued to be kept in the Baſtille, where ſhe lay confined at the very time this aſſembly of the clergy was held in 1700. For it was not till about two years after, that ſhe was at laſt ſet at liberty. At firſt they ſent her home to her family, and not long after gave her leave to retire to Blois. The oblivion, wherein ſhe lay there to the day of her death, and the retired life ſhe led there for a great number of years, are freſh proofs, that if ſhe had made a noiſe in the world, it was not through any inclination ſhe had ſo to do. Affronts, impriſonments, reproaches, and the hatred of mankind,

to

to her always appeared as favours. In this light she considered them, not only in speculation, but even at the time when most she suffered them. *That insatiable thirst after the roughest crosses*, which had edified M. Bossuet himself, though so much prejudiced against spirituality, made her free in the midst of chains; it changed the heaviness of her imprisonment in the Bastille into songs, wherein she chanted forth the happy sallies, which the transport of her love for her God inspired her with*.

The

*The following hymns were at this time composed by her.

Sur l'Air: *Charmante Solitude.*

Charmante solitude,
Cachot, aimable Tour,
Où sans inquiétude
Je passe tout le jour!
Est-il tourment trop rude
Pour mon fidélo Amour?

Les maux sont mes délices;
Les douleurs, mes plaisirs;
Les plus affreux supplices,
Le but de mes desirs:
Et tous mes éxercices,
L'Amour & les soupirs.

Je

The Archbiſhop of Cambray ſaw from the remoteſt part of his dioceſe what they were continuing to do againſt him, and bore it in peace and ſilence. A writer who was grown famous amongſt thoſe of his party, F. Gerberon, offered

Je ne crains point la peine,
Quoique ſans nul ſoutien ;
Etant aſſez certaine
Que ce mal eſt mon bien.
La Beauté ſouveraine.
Veut l'Amour ſouverain.

Je ſouffre, & ma ſouffrance
Cauſe tout mon bonheur ;
Par ſa douce préſence,
Dieu conſomme mon cœur :
Il eſt ma patience,
Ma force, & ma douceur.

Sur l'Air : *Un tendre Engagement.*

On me tient en priſon, mon cher & divin Maître.
Soyez béni, j'y veux bien être,
Tant que vous m'y voulez ſouffrir.
Nul deſir en mon cœur n'oſe même paroître,
Si ce n'eſt pour vous obéïr.

Je ſuis à vous, Seigneur, dès ma plus tendre enfance.
Je n'ai point cherché l'aſſiſtance,
Ni le ſecours des Potentats :
Dès lors je mis en vous toute ma confiance.
Sans m'appuyer ſur d'autres bras.

M'abandon-

fered to publiſh a diſcourſe in juſtification of his faith. He aſked only his conſent, and that he would contribute to the expence of the impreſſion. But to this he made anſwer, " As diligent " as I was to write in my own de- " fence before the judgment of Rome, " ſo reſolved am I ſince that judgment, " to be ſilent, to ſuffer in peace, and " give up my reputation to providence.

You

M'abandonneriez-vous au tems de ma vieilleſſe ?
Vous connoiſſez notre foibleſſe,
Seigneur, à qui ſeul j'ai recours :
Mon cœur, déja livré à l'ennui qui le preſſe,
Attend tout de votre ſecours.

Entouré d'Ennemis, que faut-il que je faſſe ?
Je n'eſpére qu'en votre Grace :
Elle ſeule adoucit mes maux.
Que votre Volonté ſur moi ſe ſatisfaſſe,
M'accablant de plus de travaux.

J'avois peine autrefois, voyant que l'Innocente,
Malgré ſa ferme confiance,
Enduroit la nuit, & le jour :
Mais depuis j'ai connu, que le poids de ſouffrance
Se meſure au poids de l'Amour.

L'Amour pur & parfait va plus loin qu'on ne penſe :
On ne ſait pas lorſqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.
Mon cœur eût ignoré le prix de la ſouffrance,
S'il n'eût goûté le pur Amour.

" You have read without doubt my " two letters upon the twelve propo- " ſitions, which ſeveral of the doctors " of Paris had judged worthy of cen- " ſure. I ſuppoſe that you have alſo " read the collection of [b] three and " thirty propoſitions, which I endea- " voured to juſtify by the authorities " of

[b] To underſtand what is here ſaid of the three and thirty propoſitions, inſtead of the three and twenty only, which were inſerted in the brief of condemnation, we muſt know, that the conſulters of the holy office, who had been nominated to examine the book, being divided in their ſentiments, inſomuch that of ten, five were for the book, and five againſt it, they were obliged to agree upon a certain number of propoſitions in the book, wherein they ſhould be unanimous, in order to make them the foundation of the queſtion to be judged of. Theſe propoſitions therefore being pitched upon by an uniform conſent amongſt themſelves, tho' otherwiſe divided in their different opinions concerning them, were depoſited in the holy office to the number of thirty-eight, and afterwards taken from thence, to be laid before the congregation of Cardinals, with an order to the conſulters to give their *votum* upon each of them. It was not till after they had been diſcuſſed in two and fifty congregations, wherein the five conſulters who had declared for the book defended them all gradually againſt the five conſulters who judged them proper to be condemned, that the motions being redoubled

" of the ſaints. The true meaning " of what I intended to write is there " explained. Theſe works, and what " elſe I have wrote in my own vindi- " cation, have been ſeen at Rome, at " Paris, and in all other places. I " have

doubled for obtaining a cenſure of the book, and the thing itſelf at laſt reſolved on, the extract of propoſitions was converted into the three and thirty mentioned in the brief of condemnation. It is eaſy to ſee wherein they differ from thoſe which had been unanimouſly agreed on by the conſulters, who had declared for and againſt the book, as the latter are inſerted in the libel in form of a journal, already mentioned in the note at pag 11. What was brought from Rome concerning the propoſitions debated in the congregations, and which took up ſeveral months, furniſhed the Archbiſhop of Cambray with an opportunity of making the collection that is here ſpoken of. In this he had reduced his book to three and thirty principal propoſitions; which, as we have ſhewn, are capable of being compared with the thirty eight that were debated between the conſulters in the two and fifty congregations. In this collection every propoſition was attended with the paſſages which the archbiſhop had quoted in order to juſtify it by the authorities of the ſaints. This was the laſt of the pieces which he wrote in his own vindication. It was printed, ſpread abroad in France, and, like all the reſt, carried to Rome; but did not get thither till after the condemnation of the book had been already pronounced.

" have proteſted before God in all
" theſe writings, that they have con-
" tained the utmoſt of my belief, and
" that I never intended to countenance
" any of the errors which have been
" imputed to me. Since the judgment
" paſſed at Rome, I have repeated
" the ſame ſolemn declaration in the
" report of our provincial aſſembly,
" which is no leſs public than the
" reports of the other provinces, or
" even than the acts of the general
" aſſembly of the clergy of France.
" After ſo many eclairciſſements, what
" farther can be added than uſeleſs re-
" petitions? What duplicity is there in
" this conduct? I had rather die than
" defend either directly, or indirectly,
" a book which I have condemned
" without reſtriction, and from the
" bottom of my heart, in compliance
" with the holy ſee. Whatever I
" ſhould write concerning my own
" perſonal ſenſe, ſetting aſide the text
" of the book, would be looked upon
" as a bye-method to rekindle the war,

" and re-enter into the defence of my
" work. It is neither juſt nor edify-
" ing for an author to be perpetually
" employing the church in his perſo-
" nal diſputes, and chuſing rather to
" continue the trouble without end,
" than bear his croſs with humility.
" When they hear not a biſhop con-
" cerning his own meaning, which he
" has ſo often explained in writing,
" to what purpoſe ſhould he ſpeak any
" more? There is no longer for him
" any edification to be given, or dig-
" nity to ſuſtain, but by a profound
" ſilence. I know too well what
" ſcandal the church ſuffers by ſuch
" diſputes, to have any inclination to
" renew them from a regard for my
" own reputation. God will take care
" of the honour of his miniſter, if he
" deigns to make uſe of it for the be-
" nefit of the miniſtry in this dioceſe.
" I am even perſuaded, that neutral
" and equitable people are edified by
" my ſilence, and do not doubt of my
" honeſty in the whole affair. No

" treatiſe

" treatiſe would perſuade thoſe who " would not be perſuaded. And you " know very well, that there would " be a double-dealing, unworthy of a " Chriſtian, in declining to write my- " ſelf, and yet privately acting in con- " cert with another who ſhould write " for me. Thus, I hope, you will nei- " ther be grieved nor ſurprized at the " reſolution I have taken to have no " ſhare, either directly or indirectly, in " a work of this nature."

Thus ended, never to be reſumed, the affair of a book which found no longer any defender, becauſe the author himſelf had ſincerely given it up. A rare example! which ſhews us what the ſimplicity of obedience, and a compliance without reſerve, are capable of doing for the peace of the church.

The readineſs and ſimplicity of this ſubmiſſion had ſurprized the King. They had prejudiced him, by repreſenting the archbiſhop of Cambray as a man of an uncomplying temper, who would never ſubmit. On the contrary

he ſaw, that if his reſolution had been unmoveable in the defence of his cauſe, it was followed with the ſubmiſſion of a child, as ſoon as the head of the church had ſpoke. The remembrance of all the virtues which had been an impreſſion, recurred to his mind. And laſtly, the inclination which the duke of Burgundy ſtill retained towards his Mentor, and which did not eſcape the courtiers penetrations, opened his eyes to diſcern what would be the event, and to foreſee the confidence of his highneſs in the conſequence. In this diſpoſition of the court, means were not wanting to the Archbiſhop to have raiſed himſelf from his diſgrace. It would have coſt him no more than ſome ſtep to ſhew he deſired it, and was willing to owe it to the perſons who had procured it for him. But his ſoul was in a ſituation, which reſembled the happy tranquillity of mind, wherein his Telemachus repreſents Philocles in the iſle of Samos, when he wanted an expreſs declaration of heaven to draw him from

from the place of his baniſhment and reſtore him to Idomeneus. In the portrait of the virtuous Cretan his own character was very diſcernible, who had undeſignedly deſcribed himſelf there, without being then able to foreſee, that a diſgrace would ſoon throw him into the condition of ſigning the reſemblance. His virtues, during his reſidence at court had ſomething of the auſterity of Philocles, which indiſpoſed the heart of Idomeneus towards him. What men, who do not well know themſelves in perfection, are apt to look upon as the height of virtue, had been in the Archbiſhop of Cambray the effect of a natural diſpoſition, which from a too eager purſuit after what was perfect, had contracted ſomething of roughneſs and ſeverity. It was this ſtiff part of virtue, which the hammer of adverſity and humiliations was to moilify by an abatement. This change had been foretold to him, but it was not entirely effected till the latter end of his life. It was a ſtrong

and

and wonderful virtue, reduced to the ſimplicity of childhood, but a childhood divine, which, of a great man, had made him a man capable of being converſed with by all the world, and at the ſame time the moſt amiable. Virtues, learning, a fine taſte, talents, and a general knowledge, were in him only for the uſe of others. His mind, dead to vanity, was in converſation entirely given up to that of another. The man of every profeſſion, or the proficient in every branch of knowledge, was quite eaſy in his company. He directed every one firſt to the ſubject he beſt underſtood; and then he diſappeared at once, ſeeming only to give an opportunity to others to produce out of their own ſtock the materials they were moſt able to furniſh. By this means no body parted from him otherwiſe than well-pleaſed with himſelf. He had always enjoyed in a great degree that eminent talent of making others ſet themſelves off, and ſhew their capacities; but this excellency was

brought

brought to perfection by the eaſy diſpoſition of an heart diſengaged from every thing in the world, and which the hand of God had bowed down by adverſity to a ſtate of pliableneſs and docility, which had not even ſubſiſted in his earlier days. This lowneſs, which was the prevailing virtue of his old age, occaſioned a ſtranger, who had paſſed through Cambray out of a deſire to ſee him, to let fall this memorable expreſſion, *I have formerly ſeen*, ſaid he upon taking his leave, *great men great; but I have now ſeen a great man little.* When he was adviſed to beware of the artifices of mankind, which he had ſo well known, and ſo often experienced, he made anſwer, *Moriamur in ſimplicitate noſtrâ.* The love of this ſimplicity had extinguiſhed in him every thing beſides; all the great qualities he poſſeſſed, which would have been ſo apt to have puffed up another, were in his eyes no more than the unhappy reed, which had pierced the hand of him,

him who meant to have ſupported himſelf with it.

Jeune, j'etois trop ſage,
Et voulois tout ſavoir.
Je n'ai plus en partage,
Que badinage;
Et touche au dernier age,
Sans rien prevoir

The unhappy diviſions, which in 1713 ended in the famous conſtitution of Pope Clement XI. and which itſelf was followed by ſo many diſputes, had begun to break out in France towards the cloſe of the year 1703. The duty of his office did not permit the Archbiſhop of Cambray to continue ſilent amidſt thoſe agitations, which ſo nearly concerned the doctrine of the church. Several volumes, which he publiſhed during the courſe of thoſe ten years, are a treaſure to the church, from the preciſeneſs, clearneſs, and ſtrength of reaſoning, wherewith the catholick doctrine

trine is there univerſally explained. We here again find, what was peculiar to him, ſo great a clearneſs of ſtyle in writing upon the moſt abſtracted ſubjects, that his books may be ready almoſt as currently as though they were merely hiſtorical.

The Cardinal de Noailles in his turn fell from the high favour, which, after having placed him in the ſee of the capital, had likewiſe procured for him the Cardinal's cap. The approbation he had given, whilſt biſhop of Chalons, to the *Moral Reflexions* of F. Queſnel, which it was intended to diſcountenance, becauſe the occaſion of the ſtorm which was gathering againſt him. In the affair of the book of the Maxims he had been drawn away by the biſhip of Meaux, who was now dead, and had joined with him againſt M. de Cambray. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, thoſe who intereſted themſelves in the troubles which were coming upon the Cardinal, and foreſaw the conſequence of them, did not fail

to

to caſt their eyes upon M. de Fenelon. They knew very well, that he was a man whom the remembrance of paſt wrongs would have rather led to endeavour a return of good for evil, than to take any advantage of the preſent conjuncture. The Archbiſhop of Cambray found himſelf applied to in his exile by the Cardinal's friends, who ſought to bring about a reconciliation between them. They judged that the return of ſuch a man as he would be a matter of great conſequence, as he would bring nothing with him but a ſincere intention to make peace, and his capacity was ſufficient to find out proper means to effect it. This was a tempting occaſion to aſſume a character very grateful to ſelf-love. But he replied, "I own, a man, who had any "taſte for buſineſs, would more eaſi- "ly accept of the propoſals you have "ſo long preſſed me to comply with: "But I have not ſo good an opinion of "myſelf, as to preſume that I am "able to reſtore the peace to the

"church,

" church, which you would have me
" attempt. I have no inclination to
" take ſo much upon me, as you
" would have me. 'Tis the Cardinal
" de Noailles who muſt reſtore peace
" to the church. I am not in any ſe-
" cret; but I dare venture to ſay, that
" he will reſtore it, whenever he ſhall
" be diſpoſed to ſucceed in it. It is
" already in his hands. I heartily wiſh
" him the merit and glory of it, both
" in the ſight of God and men. I
" ſhould die content, in ſeeing him at
" a diſtance bring this great work to
" an happy concluſion."

Whilſt the Archbiſhop of Cambray was employed in his dioceſe in diſcharging the office of his miniſtry, and enjoyed there the peace of a mind, which ſets no value upon the world, the war, which France continued to maintain with great difficulties, drew near to the city where he reſided. The neighbourhood of Cambray became the theatre of the laſt campaigns. In the midſt of two immenſe armies, conſiſting

ſiſting of the greateſt forces of almoſt all Europe, and the moſt illuſtrious Commanders, he ſaw himſelf once more become a ſpectacle. The court of Verſailles reſounded all the winter with the accounts given of him, at their return, by the general officers and courtiers who had been in the army. They all agreed to publiſh the order of his houſhold, and the magnificence which kept it open to all comers; his profuſions for the ſuccour of the ſick and wounded, with whom he filled all his apartments; the ſanctuary which whole villages found at the ſame time within the incloſure of his palace, whither they fled for refuge from the deſolated country; the care he took of the pooreſt of thoſe wretched people, who were no leſs the objects of his concern, than the perſons of diſtinction, which his houſe was always full of. Amidſt all this incumbrance he found means to leave all his gueſts to their own liberty, and to allow himſelf time withal for the diſcharge of all his occupations

pations, of what kind ſoever they were. Every one was admitted to interrupt him, without any hindrance to the carrying on of his buſineſs; ſo well he knew how to find time for every thing. To the charms of his converſation was joined a polite and eaſy manner, that rendered him agreeable to the world, and which he knew wonderfully well how to unite to the ſtrict obſervance of all the decorums that were due to his ſtation. He enchanted the hearts of all the ſoldiers. What I here advance is not the vain declamation of a man who ſtudies to ſet off the ſubject he is deſcribing; the court and city are full of eminent witneſſes to the truth of what I here report. Nor am I under any apprehenſion, that they ſhould think what they then ſaw, admired and honoured, in any reſpect here exaggerated.

This veneration was not confined to the French army alone. The knowledge of his writings, and particularly of his Telemachus, had wrought ſo ſtrong

ſtrong an impreſſion in foreign countries, that the ſame ſentiments were entertained of him in the army of the allies, as in that of France. There was a day in the year, in which he uſually viſited a certain town in his dioceſe, to perform an office of devotion. This was known in the army of the allies, and he could not go without paſſing very near their camp. Upon this they took ſuch meaſures, that the detachments which were poſted on the road might bring him to the camp, that they might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing and hearing him. He had notice of it; but did not think that either his character as a ſubject of the King, with whom they were at war, or his ſtate of baniſhment into his own dioceſe, which ſtill ſubſiſted, at leaſt as to the order which had been given him, and which he had never taken pains to have revoked would admit of his yielding to the deſign they had upon him. Whatever there was in this adventure to gratify his vanity, it had

had no effect upon him, and therefore he put off the journey he intended. If the generals of the allies were at any time informed, that any place which lay near their army belonged peculiarly to him, they immediately ſet guards upon it, and preſerved the corn and the wood with the ſame care as if it had been the property of one of the moſt conſiderable among themſelves. And theſe places thus protected upon this account, became even places of refuge to the whole neighbourhood. At the cloſe of the campaign in 1711, the army of the allies was in ſuch a poſition as to lie within view of the ramparts of Cambray, and between the army of France and the little town of Cateau-Cambreſis, which is the principal domaine of the Archbiſhops of Cambray. The place was filled with the Archbiſhop's corn, and the ſtores which the country people had repoſited there for ſhelter. The Duke of Marlborough immediately ordered them to be taken care of by a detachment which he ſent thi-

ther for that purpoſe. But, upon foreſeeing that the ſcarcity of proviſions for the ſubſiſtance of his army would not permit him to hold out in refuſing to let his ſoldiers forage in that little village, he gave M. de Cambray notice of it. Accordingly the corn was put into waggons, and conveyed, within ſight of the camp of the allies, by an eſcort of their troops as far as the arſenal of Cambray, which was a kind of general quarters to the army of France, from its neighbouring poſt on that ſide of the town. This very ſingular circumſtance ſhews to what a height the regard for him was carried.

This honour, which was paid to his virtue, was interrupted by a very great affliction. The Duke of Burgundy, who not a year ago was become Dauphin, and immediate heir to the throne, by the death of the Dauphin his father, died himſelf. In the height of his grief, the Archbiſhop was heard to intermingle theſe words with his ſighs, *All my bonds are broken.*

Theſe

Theſe were lawful bonds indeed; but it is God's will that they ſhould be broken in the ſouls which he will have devoted entirely to himſelf.

Certain childiſh amuſements, joined to the trifling employments of time which a court preſents to a young prince upon his firſt appearance in the world, had for a while obſcured a little of the precious ſeed which had been ſown in the heart of his highneſs, and which ought to have brought forth fruit in abundance; but, for a long time before his death, the great principles he had imbibed, and which had taken deep root during the courſe of his education, had entirely gotten the upper hand. The diſgrace he ſuffered in the campaign he made in 1708, when France loſt Lille, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to his perfection. He thereby learnt by experience the truth of what they oft had told him, that greatneſs, inſtead of placing men above the cenſures of the world, rendered them far more liable to them than o-

ther

ther men; that the greateſt Kings have but borrowed power; that their confidence is vain, when they imagine themſelves ſtrong from the multitude of troops they draw together; that the diviſion of the commanding officers, an unlucky accident, a ſhadow, a nothing, ſhall ſpread a terror in thoſe vaſt bodies, and be capable of giving a ſhock to the greateſt ſtates.

The letters written by the Archbiſhop upon the miſtakes of that ſad campaign, with the prince's anſwers, whereof the originals are ſtill ſubſiſting in his own hand-writing, ſupply us with valuable teſtimonials concerning the object of their correſpondence and confidence. In them we diſcern in the pupil a deep ſenſe of Religion joined with candour, goodneſs, and a fixed reſolution to learn the moſt difficult truths. *I will endeavour to make uſe of the advice you give me. Pray to God, that he will give me his grace ſo to do. ——Deſire of God more and more that he will grant me the love of him above*

above all things, above myſelf, friends, enemies, for him, and in him.——I liſten to a great many ſpeeches that are made, and will ſtill be made. I condemn myſelf, where I find I am to blame, and I deſpiſe the reſt; ſincerely pardoning all that wiſh me ill, or do ill to me, and praying for them. Theſe are my ſentiments, my dear Archbiſhop, and notwithſtanding all my faults, an abſolute determination to give myſelf up to God. Pray to him without ceaſing, that he will be pleaſed to finiſh in me what he has already begun, and deſtroy in me whatever proceeds from original ſin and myſelf. You know that my friendſhip for you is always the ſame.

Ever ſince the misfortunes of this campaign he was become a new man. He was continually employed in forming of plans, which might one day be of ſervice, in providing remedies for whatever ſtood in need of amendment in the ſtate, and give him before-hand a thorough knowledge of the evils, and their true remedies.

The

The elevation of his genius, and the integrity of his heart, began to make a ſtrong impreſſion upon the King's mind, and to gain him a very large ſhare in his confidence. He every day acquired a greater weight in the council. Upon an occaſion, where their ſentiments were divided, ſome being guided by the expreſs terms of a treaty, and others urging the advantages which would ariſe by not ſtrictly adhering to it, he gave his opinion in one word, *There is a treaty*. The Duke of Burgundy ſpoke but that word, the reſt was all included, and the King followed his advice.

Some days after his death, the King ordered the box to be brought him, which contained the prince's moſt private papers. Upon this Madam de Maintenon wrote the following letter to the duke of Beauvilliers. *I would have ſent you whatever was found there of yours and the Archbiſhop's of Cambray, but the King would burn it himſelf. I own to you, I was greatly concerned*

cerned at it, for nothing can ever be wrote ſo beautiful and ſo good; and if the prince we lament has had ſome faults, it has not been for want of free advice, or from having been too much flattered. We may ſay, that thoſe who walk upright, are never confounded. The letter was dated from St. Cyr, Mar. 15, 1712. It ſubſiſts in the original, * written by Madam de Maintenon's own hand.

This teſtimony of Madam de Maintenon is very expreſs, who wrote this fifteen years after ſhe had warmly declared herſelf againſt the Archbiſhop of Cambray, and after having ſeen ſo long time paſs without any motion on his ſide to regain the old confidence ſhe had formerly placed in him to the higheſt degree.

* This original is now in the hands of the Marquis de Fenelon, and was given to him by the Ducheſs of Beauvilliers. The original manuſcript of the Heads of Self-examination for a King, came into his hands likewiſe after the ſame manner. It was depoſited in the hands of the Duke de Beauvilliers, who preſerved it from the fate of all the other papers in the box, which were burnt.

Some

Some perſons, who would be thought to be very knowing, have given out as of their own knowledge, that Madam de Maintenon finding great oppoſition to a declaration which ſhe had much at heart, the affair was referred to the deciſion of three perſons, whereof the Archbiſhop of Cambray was one; that he had preſided in this little aſſembly, and had given the caſting vote againſt the declaration; that he had even written a letter to Madam de Maintenon in ſtrong terms, to diſſuade her from this declaration, wherein he told her, that if ſhe prevailed to gain a conſent to it, notwithſtanding the great diſlike that there was of it, in all probability it would occaſion a coldneſs of diſpoſition towards herſelf; and that then having nothing more to do, ſhe would loſe a real credit for a vain repreſentation; and, laſtly, that ſhe ought rather to love the glory of the perſon in debate, than her own private advantage, and that this motive of diſintereſtedneſs ſhould induce her to lay aſide her views:

views: And that this was what begun to create in her a diſlike to the maxims of pure love. However, the change was not made all at once; her confidence for ſome time continued to appear the ſame; but after a ſhort ſpace it leſſened by imperceptible degrees, till at length, when the diſputes raiſed againſt Madam Guion were at the height, and made uſe of to the diſſervice of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, her heart was the more readily inclined to be prejudiced againſt him. But ſuppoſing, that this anecdote was not a fiction invented by ſuch perſons as pretend to divine farther than others into the myſteries of the court, it is at leaſt certain, that thoſe who were moſt converſant with the Archbiſhop of Cambray, and had a very great ſhare in his confidence, never heard any thing drop from him, which could give the leaſt credit to the ſtory. We even ſee by the letter, we have given above, from Madam de Maintenon to the Duke of Beauvilliers, how capable ſhe was of doing

doing juſtice to thoſe, with whom ſhe had not the leaſt intercourſe, by reaſon of the part ſhe had acted againſt them.

In the mean while, what the Archbiſhop had ſo little ſought after was brought about happily of itſelf. K. Lewis XIV. had for ſome time paſt been entirely reconciled to him in opinion. A few months before the concluſion of the peace at Utrecht, the biſhoprick of Ypres was vacant. This preferment he gave to the Abbé de Laval, who reſided with the Archbiſhop of Cambray in his palace as his friend, and whom he had drawn nearer to himſelf, by making him vicar-general of his dioceſe. Thus by little and little the diſgrace wore off. His majeſty afterwards attempting to put an end to the great affair which diſturbed the church within his dominions, and which this great Prince had not the ſatisfaction to ſee brought to a concluſion before his death, had thoughts of recalling the Archbiſhop, in

in order to employ him in this great work. What had not been done in the life-time of the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe death had been preceded and followed by the deceaſe of the [b] Dukes of Chevreuſe and Bauvilliers, was inſenſibly brought about by the neceſſity of affairs alone, at a time when the biſhop of Cambray had loſt all thoſe who might have been a ſupport to him at court. He ſaw things diſpoſing themſelves to this return with very different views from what mankind uſually have upon ſuch occaſions. He thought of nothing but retirement. If they had obliged him to come to court, he would have gone thither only to give his thoughts upon the proper methods of reſtoring a ſolid peace to the church of France, and then have retired as ſoon as he had brought about a reunion. This reunion was all that he had in view. At the ſame time his ſcheme of retiring made him

[b] The Archbiſhop's two intimate friends.

even think of ſetting himſelf entirely at liberty, by giving up his archbiſhoprick; and he had taken his meaſures accordingly. After the moſt exact enquiries into the merits of different ſubjects, to fix upon one whom he might deſire of the King, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to appoint for his ſucceſſor, he was almoſt determined upon the Abbé de Tavanes, who is at preſent biſhop of Châlons ſur Marne. This was a young clergyman who did not appear in the great world till after the Archbiſhop of Cambray had left it, never more to come out of his dioceſe. He had not the leaſt affinity with him, either by parentage, or any other relation. He was not even perſonally acquainted with him, but was abſolutely determined by the teſtimonies which thoſe whom he had conſulted had given of him, and who, being upon the ſpot, were beſt able to judge of the ſubjects that were moſt promiſing. But all this was ſo privately carried on, that in all probability the perſo

perſon whom it moſt concerned may at this very time be ignorant of it.

Theſe were the diſpoſitions of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, when an acute diſeaſe, which laſted but a few days, carried him out of the world on the 7th of January 1715, in the 64th year of his age. The evening he died, he wrote the following letter to F. Le Tellier, his majeſty's confeſſor.

" I have juſt received the extreme " unction. It is in this ſtate, my " reverend father, wherein I prepare " myſelf to appear in the preſence of " God, that I beg of you inſtantly to " lay my real ſentiments before the " King. I ever was diſpoſed to ſub- " mit to the church, and have always " held in abhorrence the novelties " which have been imputed to me. I " received the condemnation of my " book with the moſt abſolute ſim- " plicity. There never was a ſingle " moment in my life, wherein I did " not bear the warmeſt acknowledge- " ments of gratitude towards the King,

" the ſincereſt zeal, the moſt profound
" reſpect, and moſt inviolable attach-
" ment to his perſon.

" I take the liberty of aſking two
" favours of his majeſty, which do
" not regard either myſelf, or any of
" mine. The one is, that his majeſty
" would have the goodneſs to appoint
" me a ſucceſſor, that is pious, regu-
" lar, good, and zealous againſt Janſe-
" niſm, which has gained ground in
" theſe quarters. The other is, that
" he will be pleaſed to accompliſh with
" my ſucceſſor, what could not be
" done with me, for Meſſ. de S. Sul-
" pice. I am indebted to his majeſty
" for the ſuccour I received from them;
" nothing can be ſeen more apoſtolical
" and more venerable. If his majeſty
" will be pleaſed to ſignify to my ſuc-
" ceſſor, that he would do well to
" conclude with theſe Gentlemen what
" is already ſo far advanced, the af-
" fair will ſoon be finiſhed. I heartily
" wiſh his majeſty a long life, which
" the church, no leſs than the ſtate, has

" infinite

" infinite need of. If I am admitted " into the preſence of God, I will fre- " quently beg of him the ſame fa- " vours."

The King, who had deſigned to employ the Archbiſhop of Cambray in the affair we have mentioned, ſeemed very much afflicted with his loſs. When the news of it was brought to him, he anſwered very ſorrowfully, *He is wanting to us at a time we have need of him.* His death was lamented at Cambray, like that of a parent. Such of his contemporaries, as are now left in the country, cannot ſee any perſon who recalls him to their mind without tears. Several of thoſe who had confided wholly in him during his lifetime, for the direction of their conſciences, took pains, after his death, to communicate the letters they had received from him upon different occaſions, and which they had preſerved as a treaſure of great value. They were formed into one collection, which makes up ſeveral volumes, and has been printed

under the title of *Spiritual Compoſitions.* In this collection were comprehended divers pious diſcourſes, which the Archbiſhop had ſeen publiſhed in his life-time under different titles. Thoſe perſons into whoſe hands the manuſcripts had fallen, did not print them without taking the liberty to alter them, under a pretence of making ſuch corrections, as their want of judgment in matters of this nature had led them to think neceſſary. In the edition of the *Spiritual Compoſitions* they were collated with exact copies, that were again at this time found, and reſtored to their former integrity. There are, however, ſome fragments, tho' very few, wherein thoſe copies were defective. But the paſſages wherein theſe alterations have been made, are eaſy to be diſcerned from the perplexed intermixture of phraſes and thoughts, whereby the genuine text, which is plainly to be diſtinguiſhed by the ſtyle, is ſeen only by intervals. The different editions which have been already ſent abroad

of

of theſe *Spiritual Compoſitions*, were all of them very greedily bought up by the publick. There are found among them letters and diſcourſes written at all times of the life of this illuſtrious prelate, both before, and after the affair of his book of *The Maxims of the Saints*, and all with the ſame ſpirit. It is in one of the volumes of this collection, that the letters written to the Duke of Burgundy during his unfortunate campaign in 1708, have been inſerted, what concerned private perſons only being left out.

The ſame ſpirit which the Archbiſhop had retained to the cloſe of his life, without attempting to raiſe himſelf from his diſgrace in France, had likewiſe rendered him undeſirous of the dignity, which is the great object of the ambition of prelates. All that had paſſed in the affair of his book, the conſtant tenor of his conduct in it, and the ſimplicity of his ſubmiſſion after the judgment, had made a ſtrong

impreſſion upon the mind of Innocent XII. This Pope died without declaring two cardinals, which he had nominated *in Petto*. Letters from Rome containing a particular account of the circumſtances of it, and from the beſt hands, ſhewed in time, that the Archbiſhop of Cambray was one of them. They ſaid, that the holy father being upon his death-bed would have declared him, but he was diſſuaded from it by thoſe who repreſented to him the danger of thereby diſobliging the court of France, which had laid the condemnation of the Archbiſhop's book ſo much to heart. They had urged, that this might make a difference between the two courts, and even be prejudicial to the Archbiſhop, as it would ſtill more exaſperate his own court, to ſee him nominated to the cardinalſhip, at a time when he was looked upon there to be in diſgrace. The Pope yielded to theſe repreſentations, and died without declaring either

ther of the two whom he had reſerved *in Petto*[a].

Cardinal Albani, who ſucceeded him under the name of Clement XI. was doubtleſs not ignorant of what his predeceſſor had deſigned. Beſides, this cardinal had been always one of thoſe who were moſt inclined to favour the Archbiſhop in the affair of his book, and he continued conſtantly to have a

[a] The printed piece publiſhed in 1732, under the form of a journal, whereof mention has been already made in the notes at page 117, and 168, may lead thoſe into an error who ſhall read what is there found concerning Meſſ. Rodolovich and Sperelli, whom Pope Innocent XII. had declared Cardinals ſome months before his death, and who were, ſays the journal, *in Petto*. He ſhould have alſo added, that there were two others who remained *in Petto* till the Pope's death, who died without declaring them; but this the journal paſſes over in ſilence. The omiſſion is remarkable, becauſe in this journal they have affected to ſet down even the minuteſt circumſtances. But this is ſufficient to ſhew that the writers who publiſhed that piece, have endeavoured artfully to convey ſuch notions, as in the minds of unwary readers would be apt to contradict the facts, which they were diſpoſed not to have believed. This libel furniſhes us in almoſt every page with inſtances of this kind of artfully endeavouring to elude, and of ſubſtituting ſhocking inventions inſtead of truth.

ſingular regard for him. Any other perſon beſides the Archbiſhop of Cambray would have thence found means not to have been forgotten in the promotions that were made; but then he muſt have departed from the principles which he followed during his whole life. F. d'Aubenton had ſpent at Rome the interval, which paſſed between his departure from the court of Spain, and the time of his being recalled to ſupply the place of Confeſſor to King Philip V. a ſecond time. The Archbiſhop of Cambray kept up a regular correſpondence with him upon the ſubject of religion, and he communicated what the Archbiſhop wrote to the Pope. This was a very favourable channel, to make himſelf be thought of to his own advantage. F. d'Aubenton was ſtill at Rome in 1715, when the news was brought thither of the Archbiſhop's death. Clement XI. under the affliction he was in for it, reproached the jeſuit for not having ever recommended the Archbiſhop of Cambray to be made

made a Cardinal. This F. d'Aubenton ſent word of to one of his friends at Paris, who is ſtill living. Thus we may ſay, that the moſt abſolute declenſion from any endeavour to procure any ſort of temporal advantage to himſelf, was the conſtant and real quietiſm of this great man.

The END.

THE GENEALOGY OF M. de FENELON, Archbiſhop of CAMBRAY.

It was not judged proper to clog the ſhort account given above with a recital of what might be alledged to the advantage of the birth of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, and therefore it has been reſerved for a chapter by itſelf.

THIS Great Man was deſcended from the houſe of Salignac or Salagnac, a family of great note in Perigord. The lands belonging to the family are in the country called Salagnac. A like variation has been common

mon to ſeveral other great familie
thoſe Provinces. *Armagnac*, *Arm*
nac; *Cardaillac*, *Cardillac*; *Pard*
lan, *Pardillan*; *Salagnac*, *Saligr*
and ſometimes alſo *Saleignac*. T
orthography of the moſt antient
cords was even *Armanhac*, *Salanh*
Cardalhac, *Pardalhan*, &c. In
ſame record the ſame name is for
times written according to theſe dif
ent pronuntiations.

Formerly, the principal lands in
country were Baronies and Châtelen
Salagnac was always the chief Châ
lenie in Perigord. The lands at p
ſent conſiſt of ſeveral large pariſh
before they were diſmembered, th
amounted to eighteen.

The children of Aimery de Salagn
are mentioned in a record made in
year 1281, containing a decree for
partition of the lands of the family
Salagnac. It allots to the parcene
which were not of the name of S
lagnac, and which could be only c
later

laterals deſcended from a wife of a former poſſeſſor of the whole land, their reſpective portions. The one half is at the ſame time reſerved in a lump to the coparceners of the name of Salagnac, to be divided amongſt them (ſays the decree) in ſuch portions, as are cuſtomary. This partition therefore neceſſarily carries back the deſcent to a common anceſtor, from whom Aimery and the collaterals muſt have ſprung, with whom his children were coparcerners of the ſame land, as of a common patrimony; and this Aimery de Salagnac muſt have been already very much advanced in age in the year 1260, as by an inſtrument of his, bearing date the ſame year, he appears to have then had ſeveral of his children married. In going ſtill farther backward, we find a great number of other Salagnacs, poſſeſſors of the lordſhip of that name, and we ſee in the moſt antient ſeals the ſame arms the family now bears.

But

But we have not certain proofs enough to fix the filiation higher than this Aimery.

Bozon de Salagnac was elected Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux in 1296. We cannot exactly find out what relation he bore to the Aimery above-mentioned; but they both occur in an inſtrument of the family dated in 1275, where they are both mentioned together, and with the children of the ſaid Aimery. This inſtrument was executed at Sarlat, a town very nearly adjacent to the lands of Salagnac. Bozon is therein termed Archdeacon of the church of Bourdeaux, in which ſtation he was, when he was afterwards elected Archbiſhop. A ſecond Bozon de Salagnac, who was in like manner as the former Archdeacon of Medoc in the church of Bourdeaux, was made Biſhop of Cominges in 1300. Helias de Salignac was alſo Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux in 1361, after having been before Biſhop of Sarlat. The laſt

laſt * *Gallia Chriſtiana*, in making mention of theſe two Archbiſhops, ſays of the former; *Ex vetuſtâ et nobili gente Baronum de Salignaco, in Petrocoriis oriundus:* and of the ſecond, *Hic Archiepiſcopus cognominabatur* de Salignac, *quæ gens in Pago Petrogoricenſi*

* There are two *Gallia Chriſtiana's*, or rather two editions; the firſt in 1656, was publiſhed by the two brothers *Ste. Marthe*; the ſecond by *F. Ste. Marthe* of the congregation of St. Maur, in two volumes, of which the firſt was publiſhed in 1715, and the ſecond in 1720. The oldeſt of theſe *Gallia Chriſtiana's* mentions no other *Salignac* Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, but the firſt elected in 1296; but the *Gallia Chriſtiana* of 1715, and 172 , ſpeak of both. At the ſame time it gives proofs of the ſecond, named Helias, which are indiſputable, and thoroughly confute the opinion of thoſe perſons, who aſſign this Helias to another family. But this new *Gallia Chriſtiana* falls in its turn into another error. The agreement in the name of Bozon, and the title of Archdeacon of the ſame Archdeaconry of Medoc in the Church of Bourdeaux, lead the Author to think, that the two Bozons, one Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, and the other Biſhop of Cominges, might be the ſame; and purſuant to this notion of permutation, contrary to all probability, ſupported by the proofs ariſing from an exact enquiry into the antient records, he makes Bozon de Salagnac Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, to be tranſlated from that Archbiſhoprick to the Biſhoprick of Cominges.

cenſi eſt antiquiſſima et nobiliſſima. The name of the family of Bozon, the firſt of theſe two Archbiſhops, is called *Salagnac* in the writ of his election.

This family hath beſides this given five Biſhops to the town of Sarlat, excluſive of the Biſhop who was tranſlated from this ſee to the Archbiſhoprick of Bourdeaux; they are all mentioned in both the *Galliana Chriſtianas*, and three of them were of the branch of La Mothe Fenelon. This branch, which is now the eldeſt, derives its original from *Raymond de Salignac* or *Salagnac*, whoſe father was *John*, and his grandfather *Maffroy de Salagnac*, the grandſon of Aimery above-mentioned. This *Maffroy*, in 1316, had married one Eſtaing, whoſe name was *Helis*, the ſiſter of *Raymond d'Eſtaing*, Seneſchal of Rouergue, from whence are derived all that are left remaining of the illuſtrious name of *Eſtaing*. *John*, the ſon of *Maffroy* and *Helis d'Eſtaing*, married *Gaillard de Montauriol*, a family which has been long extinct.

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extinct. *Raymond de Salagnac* their ſon was Lord of *Salagnac*, *la Mothe*, *Fenelon*, and divers other lands. He was Seneſchal of Quercy and Perigord, an office at that time of great power and authority in the provinces. It is alſo ſaid in ſome ancient memoirs, that he was Lieutenant-general in the government of Guienne, in the abſence of the Sire *d'Albret*. The Hiſtorians, who ſpeak of him, call him *Raymond de Salignac*; they place him in the number of Lords, who towards the end of the reign of Charles VI. ſupported the party of the Dauphin beyond the Loire. They ſay this of him in particular, that he ſerved without pay for ſeveral years, having eighteen Ecuyers under his banner. He was married to a daughter of the houſe of *Peruſe Eſcars*, who amongſt other illuſtrations had the honour of contracting an alliance with a *Bourbon* of the Blood Royal, and the heireſs of the branch of *Carency*. From the children of this *Raymond*, who was living

living in 1444, were deſcended the branches of the name of *Salignac*, as well the two elder which are extinct, as that of *La Mothe Fenelon*, which ſtill ſubſiſts, and has itſelf alſo been divided. There were alſo other branches, which formed great and illuſtrious alliances, and ſprung from the brothers of the ſaid *Raymond*, but they are likewiſe all extinct. The eldeſt of his children, named *Anthony*, is called Chamberlain to the King, and Governor of Limozin and Perigord. He married *Jane de Caumont*, the daughter of *Brandelis* Lord of *Caumont*, from which *Brandelis de Caumont* ſprung the two Marſhals *de la Force*, and the Dukes of that name. The eldeſt ſon of this *Anthony* was twice married; firſt, with one *Taillerand*, of the illuſtrious houſe of the Princes of *Chalais*; and the ſecond time with a daughter of the family of *Pierre Buffiere*. He left only daughters by both theſe marriages; two by the firſt marriage were themſelves married,

ried, one of them by a diſpenſation with the Lord of Taillerand, Prince of Chalais, her couſin; and the other with * *Francis d'Aydie* Viſcount of Riberac; the other three Siſters by the ſecond marriage married all of them Lords of the name of *Gontaut de Biron*. One of them, being appointed principal heireſs, brought her huſband the land of *Salagnac*, upon condition that the children, which ſhould be born of this marriage, ſhould bear the name and arms of *Salignac* with the name and arms of *Gontaut de Biron*, which was executed by their poſterity. There were alſo three other daughters of the name of *Salagnac*, married into the ſame family of *Biron*. *Gaſton de Gontaut* Baron of *Biron*, who was great-grandfather to the famous *Armand*, the firſt of the two Marſhals *de*

* *Guy d'Aydie*, Viſcount of *Riberac*, born of this marriage, was married to *Mary de Foix*, the niece of *Anne de Foix* married to LADISLAS VI. King of Hungary and Bohemia, and mother to *Anne of Hungary*, who married the Emperor FERDINAND I.

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de Biron, in 1456, was married to *Catharine de Salagnac*, the father of *Raymond*, and from this marriage ſprung the whole houſe of *Gontaut de Biron*.

From a younger ſon of *Anthony de Salagnac*, the eldeſt of *Raymond*'s children, deſcended another branch. Of this branch was *Geraud de Salagnac*, Lord of the lands of *Rochefort* and *Rochemeau* in Limozin. He had been governor to Henry IV. in the childhood of that great Prince. His ſon *Francis* was married to one *St. Maure*, ſiſter to *Francis de St. Maure* Lord of *Montauzier*, grand-father to the late Duke of *Montauzier*, Peer of *France*. Their ſon *Samuel de Salagnac* married *Olympe Grain de St. Marſaut*, who ſurviving her huſband was married a ſecond time to *Aubuſſon* Count *de la Feuillade*, grand-father by another marriage to the firſt Marſhal Duke *de la Feuillade*. *Achilles de Salagnac*, the ſon of *Samuel* and *Grain St. Marſaut*, was the laſt of this branch. He married a daughter of the name of *Meil-*

lers

lers in *Limozin*, by whom he had ſeveral children, but none of them were left remaining except only daughters, the eldeſt of whom became an heireſs by the death of her brothers, being at this time married to the Marquis *de St. Abre*, of the name of *La Cropte*, who was a Lieutenant-General in the army of M. *de Turenne*, and ſlain in 1674. Thus ended the elder branches derived from *Anthony* the eldeſt of the ſons of *Raymond*. *John* their third ſon, the ſecond being Biſhop of *Sarlat*, had for his partition *La Mothe*, *Fenelon*, and *Gualejac*. From this *John* and one *Lauzieres Themines*, whom he married, is deſcended the branch of *La Mothe Fenelon*. *Helias* their ſon married one *Segur Theaubon*, by whom he had iſſue. In the number of his children was *Bertrand*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his merit. There is mention made of him by the name of *Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon* in different places in the hiſtories and memoirs of the reigns of

HEN.

HEN. II. and the Kings his children. He was in *Metz* whilſt very young, at the time the Emperor Charles V. laid ſiege to it, which ſiege he raiſed. He has left behind him a journal of it, which has been commended and followed by hiſtorians of judgment in the account they have given of that famous ſiege. He was employed alſo in divers embaſſies. He was returning from England, where he had been ſeveral years embaſſador, when he was nominated knight of the Holy Ghoſt at the inſtitution of the order by King HENRY the third. He was not however inſtituted in the firſt chapter, nor received till one of the next, being abſent and employed in the King's buſineſs along with the Queen-mother in Guienne, at the time this firſt chapter was held. He returned a ſecond time into England, being one of the Lords who made up the famous embaſſy, which had a Prince of the Blood at the head of it, and was ſent by King HENRY III. into England to ſign in his

his name, and in the name of the Duke of Alencon his brother then Duke of Anjou, the contract of marriage between that Prince and Queen ELIZABETH. This contract was actually ſigned on the 11th of June 1581. and we there ſee *Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon* amongſt the commiſſioners and embaſſadors of HENRY III. who ſigned it. He was choſen, ſoon after the concluſion of the peace of *Vervins*, by King HENRY IV. for his embaſſador in Spain; and died at Bourdeaux in 1599, as he was upon his way thither. He was never married. His elder brother *Armand*, called gentleman of the chamber to the King, and Knight of his order of St. Michael, had ſeveral children by his wife, *Hunaud Lanta*, a name of diſtinction in Languedoc. Of theſe children of *Armand*, *John*, who was the eldeſt that ſurvived, married one * *Pelligrue*, by whom he had iſſue. He

* A cardinal of this houſe of Pellegruë was legate

He had begun to diſtinguiſh himſ
After the loſs of the battle of Co
tras by the Catholicks, he threw hi
ſelf into the town of Sarlat, wh
the troops of the Viſcount de Turen
were coming to beſiege ; and he
fended it ſo bravely, that the ſiege
raiſed. In memory of this delivera
there is kept every year a kind of f
in the town, with a ſermon, whe
there is always honourable men
made of the family of Fenelon.
ter this ſucceſs, he marched him
to attack the little town of Dome,
was ſlain in the attack. His ſon F
cis married the only daughter of *
race de Bonneval, the eldeſt of
houſe of *Bonneval*. From this
riage ſprung *Pons de Salignac d*
M

gate in Italy for Pope Clement V. his uncle
then reſided at Avignon, and for whom this c
gained the battle of Francolin in 1309, agai
Venetians, and recovered the town of Ferrara.

* The great-grand-father and great-grand-
of this Horace were Anthony Lord of Bonneva
Margaret de Foix his wife, couſin-german to
Count of Foix, Prince of Navarre, and heir
crown.

Mothe Fenelon, the father of *Francis de Salignac* Archbiſhop of Cambray. *Pons* had this illuſtrious child by a ſecond marriage, which he contracted in an advanced age with * *Louiſa de la Cropte*, ſiſter to the Marquiſs *de St. Abre* already mentioned, who was ſlain a lieutenant-general in the ſervice, and had himſelf married a *Salignac*. *Pons* had ſeveral brothers; among others, *Francis* Biſhop of *Sarlat*, and *Anthony*, who bore the title of Marquis de Fenelon, and who had raiſed himſelf conſiderably in the world by his perſonal merit. He was the principal mover in ſetting on foot what paſſed in the younger days of King Lewis XIV. concerning duels, and which in its conſequences was one of the moſt memorable circumſtances of the glorious reign of that great Prince.

* Mademoiſelle *de Beauvais*, who had the honour to marry M. the Count *de Soiſſons*, elder brother to the famous Prince *Eugene of Savoy*, and from whom are deſcended the Princes his Nephews, was of the ſame name of *La Cropte*, of the branch of *Beauvais Chanterac*.

He had in the time of the Queen-mother a brevet of nomination for the order of the Holy Ghoſt, which however did not then take place at the promotion made in 1661. He had married a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of *Mantheron*, who being an only child was the heireſs of her branch of the family. There was left by this marriage only one daughter, married into the houſe of *Laval*, and who was mother to the Marquis of *Laval*, chief of the name of that illuſtrious houſe of *Laval-Montmorency*.

It was this Marquis de Fenelon, who, having taken notice of the extraordinary talents in the young Abbé de Fenelon his nephew, ſent for him to Paris, took care of his youth, and contributed very much to make him early known. The Abbé being nominated preceptor to the Princes of France in 1689, the conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed birth procured, from the day that he entered upon the diſcharge of his office towards the Duke of

of Burgundy, the honour of eating at his table, and ſitting with him in the coach; an honour which had never been granted to any preceptor in the preceding educations. Six years after, that is in 1695, the Abbé de Fenelon was nominated to the archbiſhoprick of Cambray, and filled the ſee near twenty years, with the reputation which all the world is acquainted with.

Pons de Salagnac d' la Mothe Fenelon, the father of this great Archbiſhop, had by his firſt marriage with a daughter of *Francis d Eſparbez*, Marquis of *Aubeterre* and Marſhal of France, amongſt other children, *Francis*, who married *Anne du Lac de la Péréde*, heireſs by her mother, who was of the name of the Marſhal *du Bourg*, to an elder branch of that Marſhal's family. Their ſon, named alſo *Francis*, Marquis *de la Mothe Fenelon*, is at preſent the head of the family. By his lady, who was of the houſe of *Beaupoil St. Aulaire*, a name of diſtinction in Perigord, he had ſeveral

children, and amongſt others *James Gabriel de Salignac*, Marquis of *Fenelon*, who being brought up at Cambray under his great-uncle the Archbiſhop, paſſed from thence into the world. In 1725, he came embaſſador into Holland. Three years after, he was removed from thence to fill the place of ſecond plenipotentiary of the legation of France at the congreſs of Soiſſons, where Cardinal *de Fleury* was at the head. This congreſs breaking up, he was ſent a ſecond time into Holland, where he now reſides under the character of embaſſador*. He hath ſeveral children by *Louiſa Frances Le Peletier* his lady, the ſiſter of M. *Le Peletier*, the elder of the preſidents *à mortier* in the Parliament of Paris, and daughter of the late M. *Le Peletier*, the premier preſident.

* It is this miniſter who was killed in the battle of Liege on the 11th of October, N. S. 1746, and one of whoſe ſons was dangerouſly wounded in the battle of Dettingen, where he behaved extremely well, and from whence he was carefully ſent back to the army of France, where he now ſerves with diſtinction.

AN EXACT

CATALOGUE

OF THE

WORKS

Of the late

M. FRANCIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE FENELON,

Archbiſhop of CAMBRAY, and formerly Preceptor to the Princes of FRANCE.

1. *A Treatiſe of the office of paſtors*, printed in 1688.

2. *A Treatiſe concerning the education of daughters*, augmented, in the ſecond edition, with an *Advice to a lady of quality, concerning the education of her daughter.*

3. *Maxims of the ſaints concerning the inward life explained.*

Pope Innocent XII. condemned this book by a brief bearing date March 12, 1699. Rome however would not include in this condemnation the apologetical diſcourſes which the author had wrote during the courſe of the diſpute, both to defend himſelf from the unjuſt reproaches of his adverſaries, and to vindicate his doctrine. Theſe apologetical diſcourſes are thoſe which follow.

1. *A paſtoral inſtruction concerning the book of the Maxims of the ſaints.*

2. *An anſwer to the declaration of the Archbiſhop of Paris, the biſhop of Meaux, and the biſhop of Chartres, againſt the book entitled,* The maxims of the ſaints explained.

3. *An anſwer to the book of the biſhop de Meaux, entitled,* Summa Doctrinæ.

4. *A diſſertation upon the real differences between the doctrine of the biſhop of Meaux, and that of* M. *de Cambray.*

5. *Four*

5. *Four letters to the Archbiſhop of Paris upon his paſtoral inſtruction of the 27th of October* 1697.

6. *Five letters to the biſhop of Meaux.*

7. *An anſwer to the diſcourſe of the biſhop of Meaux, entitled,* A relation concerning Quietiſm.

8. *A reply to the biſhop of Meaux's remarks upon the anſwer to the relation.*

9. *Three letters in anſwer to that of the biſhop of Meaux.*

10. *Two letters in anſwer to the paſtoral letter of the biſhop of Chartres concerning the book entitled,* The maxims of the ſaints explained.

11. *Two letters to M. de Chartres, in anſwer to the letter of a divine.*

12. *A letter to the biſhop of Meaux, in anſwer to his latin treatiſe entitled,* Myſtici in tuto, *upon paſſive prayer.*

13. *A letter to* M. *de Meaux, in anſwer to his latin treatiſe entitled,* Scholaſtici in tuto, *concerning charity.*

14. *A letter to the biſhop of Meaux concerning charity.*

15. *An answer to the tract of the bishop of Meaux entitled,* Quæstiuncula.

16. *Decisive precedents against the bishop of Meaux.*

17. *A letter upon the bishop of Meaux's answer to the work entitled,* Decisive precedents.

18. *Two letters to the bishop of Meaux concerning the twelve propositions he would have censured by the doctors of Paris.*

19. *Two letters to the bishop of Meaux in answer to a piece intitled,* The passages cleared up, &c.

20. *An answer to the Archbishop of Paris.* This is in latin.

21. *The principal propositions of the book of the Maxims of the saints, justified by very strong expressions of the sacred writers.*

This collection was the last of the apologetical pieces of the Archbishop of Cambray. It came not to Rome till after the judgment given against the book of the Maxims.

22. *The*

22. *The mandate of the 9th of April* 1699, *for the acceptation of the brief of Pope Innocent XII. in condemnation of the book of the Maxims of the ſaints, and the twenty-three propoſitions extracted from it.*

23. *The report of the aſſembly of biſhops in the province of Cambray, of the* 15*th and* 16*th of May* 1699, *for the acceptation of the ſaid brief.*

24. *The mandate of the* 30*th of September* 1700, *reiterating the acceptation of the ſame brief.*

His Works againſt Janſeniſm are theſe which follow.

1. *A firſt ordinance and paſtoral inſtruction, containing a condemnation of a printed piece entituled,* A caſe of conſcience.

2. *A ſecond paſtoral inſtruction, to clear up ſeveral difficulties objected in divers pieces againſt the firſt paſtoral inſtruction of the* 10*th of Feb.* 1704.

3. *A*

3. *A third paſtoral inſtruction, containing proofs of the tradition concerning the infallibility of the church, with relation to orthodox or heretical texts.*

4. *A fourth paſtoral inſtruction, wherein it is proved, that it is the church which requires the ſigning of a form; and that the requiring this ſubſcription is grounded upon the infallibility, which hath been promiſed to her in judging of dogmatical texts.*

5. *A letter to a divine upon the ſubject of his paſtoral inſtructions.*

6. *An anſwer to a biſhop upon ſeveral difficulties, which he had propoſed to him upon the ſubject of his paſtoral inſtructions.*

7. *An anſwer to the letter of the biſhop of St. Pons.*

8. *An ordinance, and paſtoral inſtruction, for the publication of the conſtitution of our holy father Pope Clement XI. of the 16th of July againſt Janſeniſm.*

9. *A letter to a divine, by way of anſwer to an anonymous latin libel, beginning with theſe words,* Reverende admodum

admodum Domine, De formulâ ſubſcribendâ, &c.

10. *A letter upon a work entitled,* Defenſio autoritatis eccleſiæ.

11. *A letter to his highneſs the elector of Cologne, concerning the proteſtation of the anonymous author of a latin letter, and of the book entituled,* Defenſio autoritatis eccleſiæ.

12. *An anſwer to the ſecond letter of the biſhop of St. Pons.*

13. *A paſtoral inſtruction concerning the book entitled,* A juſtification of humble ſilence.

14. *A letter concerning the infallibility of the church, with relation to dogmatical texts, with an anſwer to the principal objections.*

15. *An anſwer to a ſecond letter of the biſhop of* ——

16. *A letter to Mr. N. (Baron Kark, Chancellor to the Elector of Cologne) concerning a treatiſe intitled,* The letter of his highneſs the Elector of Cologne, Biſhop and Prince of Liege, concerning the Archbiſhop of Cambray's

Cambray's letter to his electoral highneſs of Cologne, &c. againſt a proteſtation of a divine of Liege.

17. *Two letters to F. Queſnel, the one touching a piece entitled,* Denunciatio ſolemnis Bullæ, &c. *the other concerning the relation of Cardinal Roſpiglioſi.*

18. *An ordinance and paſtoral inſtruction, in condemnation of a book entitled,* Theologia dogmatica & moralis, ad uſum ſeminarii Catalaunenſis, *drawn up by M.* Habert, *doctor of the Sarbonne.*

M. de Cambray, who carried his reſpect towards all men beyond meaſure, when he thought it might be done without injury to truth, ſuſpended the publication of this work, though it was printed. It did not come abroad in his life-time.

19. *A paſtoral inſtruction, in form of dialogues, divided into three parts, whereof the former lays open the ſyſtem of Janſenius, its conformity with that of Calvin, concerning pleaſure, and its oppoſition*

oppoſition to the doctrine of S. Auguſtine, in ſix dialogues; the ſecond, which makes eight dialogues in the firſt edition, and ten in the laſt, explains the principal works of S. Auguſtine concerning grace, the abuſe which the Janſeniſts make of them, and the oppoſition of their doctrine to that of the Thomiſts. The laſt eight dialogues make up the third part, and ſhew the novelty of the ſyſtem of Janſenius, and the pernicious conſequences of that doctrine to morality.

M. de Cambray was upon a ſecond edition of this work, when he was ſeized with the diſeaſe, which carried him off in a few days. The eleventh dialogue was then in the preſs. He had himſelf reviſed the proofs of the former ten, and made conſiderable additions in them. He had alſo made two new ones, concerning the will of God to ſave all mankind. Two days before his death, he gave them to his ſecretary (M. Stievenard, canon of the church of Cambray, and author of the preface which is ſet before this edition) who

who had the care of the impreſſion under him, with orders to inſert them immediately after the eleventh dialogue, which accordingly was done.

20. *A mandate and paſtoral inſtruction, addreſſed to the clergy and people of the dioceſe of Cambray under his Imperial Majeſty, for the reception of the conſtitution* UNIGENITUS *of our holy father Pope Clement XI. of the 8th of Sept.* 1713, *which condemns the book called,* Moral reflections of F. Queſnel, upon the New Teſtament, and one hundred and one propoſitions extracted from it.

In that part of his dioceſe, which was ſubject to France, Mr. de Cambray publiſhed the paſtoral inſtruction, drawn up by the aſſembly of the clergy of France in 1714, for the reception of the ſaid conſtitution.

DIVERS WORKS.

1. *The Adventures of Telemachus, the ſon of Ulyſſes, printed in an authentick manner for the firſt time in* 1717.

This

This work drawn up ſolely for the inſtruction of the Duke of Burgundy, was publiſhed unknown to the author, by the unfaithfulneſs of ſome one of the perſons into whoſe hands the copy had fallen. There were ſeveral editions of it, but all of them very imperfect. The world is indebted to the family of the Archbiſhop of Cambray for that which was publiſhed at Paris in 1717, from an original manuſcript found amongſt his papers. The diſcourſe upon epick poetry, which is ſet before this edition, was drawn up by Mr. Ramſay, a Scotch gentleman, whom the reputation of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, and a deſire to be ſatisfied by him in his doubts concerning the catholick religion, had brought over into France. The ſhort prefaces are alſo his, which are placed at the head of the four following works.

2. *Proper heads of Self-examination for a King.* This valuable piece is now firſt publiſhed. It was placed after the Telemachus in that new edition. It was printed from a manuſcript, all written

written with the Archbiſhop of Cambray's own hand. It was accompanied with a ſhort account of the Archbiſhop's life, which is now firſt publiſhed alſo, and comes from the fountain-head.

3. *Dialogues of the dead, antient and modern, with ſome fables, compoſed for the education of a Prince*; printed in an authentick manner in 1718.

It is alſo to the family of M. de Cambray that the publick is indebted for this edition, as alſo for thoſe that follow. The greateſt number of the dialogues, which make up this collection, as alſo the adventures of Ariſtonous, had been printed in the author's life-time; but from copies which had eſcaped in a very incorrect ſtate, with a great many alterations, and mixtures of other matters which did not belong to him. In this edition the whole was corrected by the originals. It comprehends forty-ſeven dialogues of the antient dead, nineteen of the modern, and twenty-ſix fables.

4. *Di*

4. *Dialogues upon eloquence in general and that of the pulpit in particular; with a letter written to the French academy*; printed in 1718.

The three dialogues contained in this collection were never printed before. The edition was made from a manuſcript of the author's, written whilſt he was young with his own hand, and found amongſt his papers after his death. The letter to the academy, who had conſulted him about the choice of proper ſubjects for their occupations, had been printed before.

5. *Letters upon divers ſubjects concerning religion and metaphyſicks*; printed for the firſt time in 1718.

This collection contains five letters. The firſt, concerning the exiſtence of God, the proper worſhip of God, and the true church. The ſecond, upon the worſhip of God, the immortality of the ſoul, and free-will. This was written to the Duke of Orleans, who has ſince been regent, in anſwer to three metaphyſical queſtions, which that great

great prince had put to the Archbiſhop of Cambray, and which are to be ſeen at the head of this letter. In the third, the author treats of the divinity, and of religion. In the fourth, of the idea of infinity, and the liberty of God to create or not create. And laſtly, the fifth ſpeaks of religion and the practice of it. None of theſe letters were publiſhed in the author's life-time.

6. *Philoſophical works, or a demonſtration of the exiſtence of God*, printed in 1718.

This work is divided into two parts. The firſt is a demonſtration of the exiſtence of God, drawn from the knowledge of nature and of man in particular, adapted to the capacity of the moſt unlearned. This firſt part had been publiſhed before under the different titles of *The art of nature*, or of *the exiſtence of God*. The ſecond part of theſe *Philoſophical works* is a demonſtration of the exiſtence of God, and of his attributes, drawn from proofs purely

ly intellectual, and even from the idea of infinity. It was never before printed, and the manuſcript was taken from among the author's papers after his death.

7. *Select ſermons upon different ſubjects.*

This collection, printed in 1718, conſiſts of ten ſermons or diſcourſes. The firſt is for the epiphany. The ſecond upon humility. The third for the feaſt of the aſſumption of the bleſſed Virgin. The fourth for the feaſt of St. Bernard. The fifth, for that of St. Thereſa. The ſixth, for the feaſt of a martyr. The ſeventh, for the profeſſion of a nun lately converted. The eighth upon prayer. The ninth upon the principal duties and advantages of a religious life. The tenth, upon Chriſtian perfection, or upon true and ſolid piety. Theſe diſcourſes firſt appeared all together in this edition. They had been printed before in the author's life-time, but ſeparately, and without his knowledge, in two different

ent collections, the one entituled, *Spiritual discourses*, and the other, *Select sermons upon divers subjects.*

8. *Prayers for morning and evening, with devout reflections for every day of the month*; printed in 1718.

The *Reflexions for every day of the month* had long been publiſhed without the author's name. It was only in the latter part of his life, that M. de Cambray, owning them to be of his compoſition, joined them to the Prayers for morning and evening, which were then printed by his order. The edition was not finiſhed till after his death. Beſides the *Prayers for morning and evening*, and the *Reflexions for every day of the month*, the laſt edition of this ſmall book contains a ſhort *Treatiſe of Prayer*, an *explanation of the ceremonies of the Maſs*, *a ſhort way to arrive at perfection*, and *ſhort inſtructions upon all the ſacraments*. The *Inſtructions* are not M. de Cambray's, but for the moſt part are taken only from the ritual, which he had drawn up

up for the uſe of his dioceſe, and from his other works.

9. *Spiritual compoſitions.* This collection, which was publiſhed three years after the death of the Archbiſhop of Cambray, was at firſt divided into two volumes. The greateſt part of the tracts which compoſe the former were written for the private inſtruction of divers perſons, and were afterwards publiſhed without the author's knowledge. Thoſe perſons into whoſe hands the manuſcripts had fallen, had printed them in different collections, under the titles of *Pious Thoughts*, *Thoughts concerning repentance*, *Spiritual diſcourſes*, &c. But at the ſame time they took the liberty of altering them, under a pretence of making corrections in them, according to their own way of thinking. In the *Spiritual compoſitions*, as exact copies were made uſe of as could be found, to reſtore them to the ſtate they were in at firſt. The copies were defective only in a few inſtances; but notwithſtanding the alteration which is viſible

visible, and shews itself at the first sight, by the difference of style, and perplexed intermixture of phrases and thoughts, yet even here the genuine text of Mr. de Cambray is from time to time plainly discernible. They are therefore left, notwithstanding the interpolations. It may not however be improper here to point out the passages, where they occur; and they are these:

In the first volume of the edition of 1718. Part I. Art. 7. entitled, *Of the tears of repentance*, pag. 55 and 56.

The 11th Article of the same first part, entitled, *Upon the violence which a Christian must continually offer to himself, in order to obtain the kingdom of heaven*, p. 78, 79, and 80, of the first vol.

In the same first volume, Part II. Art. 6. entitled, *For the feast of the epiphany, or of the kings*, beginning with these words, *O Créateur du Ciel & de la Terre*; and ending with these, *Occupé d'actions de grace & de louanges dans tous les siécles. Ainsi soit-il.* pag. 334, 335, 336, 337, and 338.

The

The 15th Article of the ſame ſecond part, entituled, *For Eaſter-day*, beginning with theſe words, *Vous m'aſſurez, Seigneur*, and ending with theſe, *Je ſupplie votre miſéricorde infinie de recevoir mon indignité. Amen.* Pag. 365 of the firſt volume, to pag. 374.

The 17th Article of the ſame ſecond part entitled, *For the day of pentecoſt*, beginning with theſe words, *Si je m'en vais*, and ending thus, *Dans un gloire ineffable pour toute l'Eternité. Amen.* Pag. 337 of the firſt volume to pag. 384.

This firſt volume of the Spiritual compoſitions is divided into three parts. The firſt contains divers *Chriſtian thoughts* upon a great number of very important points, relating to piety, morality, and the inward life. The ſecond part contains very *Affecting diſcourſes upon the principal feaſts of the year*, to the number of four and twenty; and fourteen *Meditations in time of ſickneſs*. The third part contains no more than what is found in the little book already mentioned, called *Prayers*

for morning and evening, &c. The little *Treatise of prayer*, which is also in the same book, is likewise found at the beginning of the first volume of *Spiritual compositions* under the title of *Advice concerning the principal exercises of devotion.*

The second volume contains only *Religious letters*, written to different persons, and collected after the author's death. They were at first printed to the number of two hundred and forty-eight. In 1719, there was a new edition of them, with an addition of twelve, whereof five being recovered after the book was printed off, were placed at the beginning, out of their proper order. The seven others follow after the two hundredth and forty-eight, which were printed in the first edition. The five last of these seven were written to a person, who was desirous of embracing the catholick religion, and had applied herself to M. de Cambray for the instruction she stood in need of. They were not written in vain. This person was actually converted, and

signed

ſigned the act of abjuration, which was drawn up by the Archbiſhop, and is added to theſe letters in the ſecond edition, which has not been the laſt.

10. *A collection of ſome ſmall tracts upon different ſubjects of importance*; printed in 1722.

This collection, publiſhed ſeven years after the author's death, contains a *Letter upon frequent communion*; another in anſwer to Mr. *Guy de Seve de Rochechouart*, biſhop of Arras, *Upon reading the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue*; three letters to F. Lami, a benedictine monk of the congregation of S. Maur, *Upon predeſtination*; and a *Diſcourſe delivered at the conſecration of his royal highneſs Joſeph Clement of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne, Biſhop and Prince of Liege, &c.*

All the pieces contained in this collection are alſo found in an edition of the *Spiritual compoſitions* in 5 volumes. They make up the laſt volume of it. They have added alſo three letters more of the Archbiſhop to F. Lami, which are not in this collection, and whereof the

the most considerable treats of *the nature of grace.*

The two following printed pieces may also be added to this catalogue.

1. *A ritual for the use of the diocese of Cambray*, printed in 1707.

The preface, which is set before this ritual, with the short exhortations or instructions how to receive the sacrament worthily, were written by M. de Cambray. In the rest he has almost entirely followed the ritual of his predecessors, with very little alterations.

2. *A collection of mandates published upon the lents, jubilees, and publick prayers*, printed in 1713.

Besides the mandates in this collection, there is one also extant for lent in 1714, bearing date Feb. 4, and another for the first jubilee of the year 1701, granted by our holy father Pope Clement XI. at his entrance upon his pontificate. This mandate bears date June 15, 1701.

F I N I S.